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ABSTRACT

This supplementary teaching unit provides students with the opportunity to explore freedom of expression by focusing on Emma Goldman (1869-1940), a major figure in the history of American radicalism and feminism. In a period when the expression of controversial ideas was dangerous, Goldman insisted on her right to challenge conventions. She devoted her life to asserting the individual's potential for freedom that otherwise was obscured by a system of social and economic constraints. She was among America's most prominent advocates of labor's right to organize, reproductive rights, sexual freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of the individual. This teaching unit contains primary sources taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers, and literature from the period under study. Students will investigate documents drawn from these sources in a study of issues related to freedom of expression. Teacher background materials, lesson plans, and student resources are given to provide an overview of the entire unit, as well as various ideas and approaches for this unit. Contains a glossary of terms and an 18-item selected bibliography. (BT)

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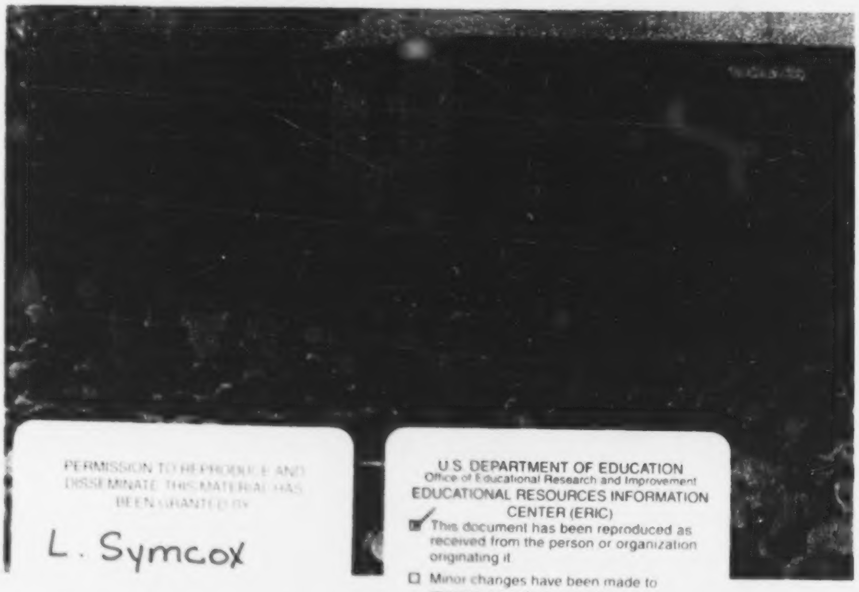
With Speech as My Weapon: Emma Goldman and the First Amendment

A Unit of Study for Grades 8-12

by

Candace Falk, Stephen Cole, and Sally Thomas
The Emma Goldman Papers Project
University of California, Berkeley



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With Speech as My Weapon: Emma Goldman and the First Amendment is derived from *The Life and Times of Emma Goldman: A Curriculum for Middle and High School Students (1992)* by Candace Falk, in association with Lyn Reese and Mary Agnes Dougherty, New Direction Curriculum Developers, Berkeley, CA. Information about ordering the original curriculum, which contains units on immigration, freedom of expression, women's rights, anti-militarism, and the art and literature of social change, can be obtained by writing to the Emma Goldman Papers, University of California, 2372 Ellsworth Street, Berkeley, CA 94720-6030. The original curriculum and other primary resources relating to Emma Goldman are also available on the World Wide Web at http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman.

This new teaching unit has been developed collaboratively by the National Center for History in the schools (NCHS) and the Emma Goldman Papers Project. David Vigilante, Associate Director of NCHS, has led this collaboration, while Stephen Cole of the Emma Goldman Papers Project and Gary B. Nash, Director of NCHS, have made editorial contributions. Marian McKenna Olivas served as desktop publishing expert.

For information on additional teaching units and other resources from the National Center for History in the schools, write or fax:

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With Speech as My Weapon: Emma Goldman and the First Amendment

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APPROACH AND RATIONALE

The National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS), working in collaboration with The Emma Goldman Papers Project, has developed the following collection of lessons titled *With Speech as My Weapon: Emma Goldman and the First Amendment*. This adds to nearly 40 NCHS teaching units that are the fruit of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. They represent specific dramatic episodes in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

By studying a crucial episode in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history in an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

NCHS teaching units are based on **primary sources,** taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. As you know, a primary source is a **firsthand** account of any event in history. For example, the telecast or the script of a speech would be a primary source. A secondary source is a secondhand account of an event. This would be, for example, the newspaper account of the speech the next day or a newscaster's report about the speech. All historical accounts, such as textbooks, are by their very nature secondary sources. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) **Teacher Background Materials** and 2) **Lesson Plans with Student Resources**. This unit is designed as a supplement to your customary course materials. We have chosen to pitch the various lessons on different grade levels, and they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level.

The **Teacher Background** section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific **Dramatic Mo-**

ment to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The **Lesson Plans** include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources that accompany each lesson. These resources consist of primary source documents, handouts, and student background materials, and in many cases, a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

I. UNIT OVERVIEW

Emma Goldman (1869-1940) is a major figure in the history of American radicalism and feminism. In a period when the expression of controversial ideas was itself dangerous, Goldman insisted on her right to challenge convention. Goldman devoted her life to asserting the individual's potential for freedom that otherwise was obscured by a system of social and economic constraints. She was among America's most prominent advocates of labor's right to organize, reproductive rights, sexual freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of the individual.

As passionate in her personal life as in her political life, Goldman left an intriguing body of personal papers, including correspondence and writings; and her activities generated extensive newspaper coverage, government surveillance reports, and legal papers. The documents in this curriculum unit are drawn from a massive archive collected by the Emma Goldman Papers Project, at the University of California, Berkeley.

Goldman was part of a blossoming culture of dissent. Her anarchism was one of many popular political philosophies of her time, including socialism, communism, utopianism, populism, and progressivism, that challenged and influenced the evolution of the dominant social and political culture. As an anarchist, Goldman maintained that social justice and individual freedom could not be legislated by the state. Instead, she argued for a complete transformation of social values and economic relations.

In nationwide lecture tours, Goldman took her message to the people and in the process tested a democratic society's tolerance for dissent. Goldman believed that "the most violent element in society is ignorance." The government and most newspaper reporters responded fearfully to Goldman's iconoclastic ideas as well as to her confrontational style. She was shadowed by police and vigilantes determined to suppress her talks and was arrested frequently. In 1919, after spending a year and a half in prison for her open opposition to conscription and to U.S. entry into World War I, Goldman was deported.

Standard school texts often ignore Goldman and other challenging voices, or only briefly mention them. This absence of an historical record of controversy in the curriculum not only denies students access to a full range of ideas but also ultimately limits their ability to understand and analyze the past. Recent educational reforms encourage classroom use of primary sources as the best way to present opposing points of view. For example, the documents from the Emma Goldman Papers on free speech are compelling because they expose the student to firsthand accounts of a long struggle to affirm the right to disagree. The immediacy of the issues of the period are experienced through newspaper accounts, political cartoons, speeches, pamphlets, and autobiographical narratives rather than through synthesized historical texts.

II. UNIT CONTEXT

The lessons in this unit of study focus on issues relating to freedom of expression and the limitations placed by local, state, and federal governments to control unpopular speech. The unit supplements the study of the American labor movement, anarchist activities, free speech, the Red Scare of the post-World War I era, and the deportation of aliens in 1919. It provides teachers an in-depth study of issues relating to freedom of expression using Emma Goldman as a case study. The lessons are most effective if placed within the context of a study of domestic issues of the 1920s.

"*In the Aftermath of War: Cultural Clashes of the Twenties*," "*Women in the Progressive Era*," and "*The Constitution in Crisis: The Red Scare of 1919-1920*," are other National Center for History Teaching Units that relate to the topics addressed in this unit.

III. CORRELATION TO NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR UNITED STATES HISTORY

"*With Speech as My Weapon: Emma Goldman and the First Amendment*" provides teaching materials to support the *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Lessons within this unit assist students in attaining Standards 2C and 3A of Era 7, "The Emergence of Modern America (1890-1930)." Students analyze the impact of public opinion and government policies civil liberties and evaluate government reactions to the growth of radical political movements.

This unit likewise integrates a number of Historical Thinking Standards including: explain historical continuity and change; assess the credibility of historical documents; compare and contrast different sets of ideas; analyze cause-and-effect relationships; support interpretations with historical evidence; and, marshal evidence of antecedent circumstances.

IV. UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Distinguish between unsupported expressions of opinion and informed hypotheses ground in historical evidence.
2. Draw upon visual sources to clarify, illustrate, or elaborate upon information presented in a historical narrative.
3. Compare and contrast differing sets of ideas and values.
4. Analyze cause and effect relationships.

V. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Emma Goldman was born in the city of Kovno, Lithuania, then part of the Russian Empire, on June 27, 1869. As a child she and her family experienced blatant anti-Semitism and observed peasants beaten, government officials bribed, and young men dragged off to serve in the army. Hating the injustices she saw, she welcomed the idea of revolution that promised to change Russia. She hoped for a new world of equality and justice.

Goldman's family life was hard. Goldman felt that her father found fault with everything she did. He sent her out to work at an early age and wanted her to get married to someone of his choosing when she was only fifteen. To avoid such a fate, Goldman and her older sister Helena fled Russia for America.

Full of optimism, she arrived in America in 1885 expecting to find the freedom she was denied back in Russia. Relatives in Rochester, New York, offered her a place to live and helped her find work in a clothing factory. Unhappily, she discovered that working conditions in America were not so different from those she had left behind.

For Goldman the Haymarket tragedy of 1886 was a transformative event. At the height of the fight for the eight-hour day, a mass meeting to protest the police shooting of strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works the previous day drew a large evening crowd to Haymarket Square, Chicago. As the peaceful meeting drew to a close and the crowd began to disperse, a bomb exploded, killing seven police officers and injuring dozens of bystanders. In an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, eight anarchist leaders were convicted of murder. Seven of the eight were sentenced to death, though the sentences of two of them were commuted and another later committed suicide. The execution of the remaining four on November 11, 1887, led Goldman to devote her life to the anarchist ideal.

Goldman began to read everything she could find on anarchism. Determined to make her adopted country live up to the ideals of freedom, harmony, and prosperity for all, Goldman left her sweatshop job in Rochester and went to New York City where she hoped to meet other people who shared her ideas. There she learned that anarchism had many definitions and strategies which spanned from philosophical to militant. She was attracted to those anarchists who lectured about the challenge and the promise of their political ideas. Yet, the press often stereotyped the anarchist movement as "bomb-throwers" because some anarchists believed that political violence was a justifiable means for bringing about revolutionary change. Goldman found herself between these two poles.

Within New York City's anarchist circle, Goldman befriended Alexander Berkman and was eventually associated with his attempt in 1892 to kill Henry Clay Frick, manager of a Carnegie Steel plant, after Frick had ordered an armed attack on striking workers. The newspapers sensationalized the event. Later, in 1901, when President William McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist, Goldman was suspected even though she was not involved. After this, Goldman briefly changed her name, led an underground life, and from then on was watched carefully by agents of the government. When it became safe for her to appear in public, she distinguished her conception of anarchism from the characterizations of it by the press. In 1906, she started the anarchist magazine *Mother Earth*. It gave writers, artists, and political thinkers with radical ideas a place to express themselves.

Among her many challenges to convention was Goldman's distrust of the institution of marriage. She believed that marriage restricted the freedom of both men and women and, at the same time, gave them a false sense of security. Throughout her life, she fell in love many times—the most passionate was her ten-year love affair with her lecture tour manager, Dr. Ben Reitman. Even though her lectures espoused the principle of free love, her letters to Ben show that she could not rid herself of her own feelings of jealousy when he followed his attraction to other women.

Goldman was a talented public speaker. She toured the country several times a year lecturing about politics, drama, birth control, economic freedom for women, education, anti-militarism, and other vital issues of her day. Goldman believed that anarchism would bring total social, economic, political, and spiritual emancipation without government regulation. Because of a common fear of anarchism, she faced constant threats from policemen and vigilantes determined to suppress her message. She was arrested countless times and spent over a year and a half in jail.

She spoke out against U.S. participation in World War I because she believed the war was being fought first and foremost to promote the economic interests of the very rich. In addition, she encouraged young men to exercise their right to free choice and resist compulsory military service. Arrested and convicted of conspiracy to obstruct the draft, she went to prison. During that time, her citizenship was invalidated by a government eager to rid the country of her influence. On December 21, 1919, Emma Goldman and 248 other foreign-born radicals were rushed aboard the ship S.S. *Buford* at dawn and deported to Soviet Russia.

Emma Goldman stayed in her native Russia for only twenty-three months. Despite the overthrow of the czar by a revolutionary government, Goldman was shocked by its continuing disregard for political freedom. She met with V. I. Lenin, the Soviet leader, and questioned him about the lack of free speech. Unhappy with his response that free speech at that point in Russian history was a luxury not a right, Goldman eventually left the country in disgust and disappointment. She was determined to alert the world to what she saw as the Bolsheviks' betrayal of the ideals of the revolution.

For the rest of her life Goldman felt like "a woman without a country," moving from place to place, and allowed to return to the United States only once in 1934 for a brief lecture tour. In 1936, she visited Spain and witnessed the optimism of the Spanish anarchists and their hope that a real revolution would occur in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. When the dictatorship of Francisco Franco triumphed, a defeated Goldman went to Canada to help raise funds for the refugees of the Spanish war and to be closer to the country in which she had felt most at home.

Emma Goldman died on May 14, 1940. The United States government permitted her body to be returned to America. She is buried in Chicago near the anarchists who were executed for the Haymarket incident.

Throughout her life Emma Goldman wrote many letters, articles, speeches, and a number of books. The most notable of her writings is her autobiography, *Living My Life*.

VI. USING PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS

Before beginning the unit you may wish to duplicate copies of the Document Analysis Worksheet (***Student Handout***) as a means of assisting students in working with the numerous documents that are included in the four lessons in this unit. Encourage students to examine the documents for bias and question the material to determine the author's frame of reference. Caution students not to accept without question evidence presented in documents and to always examine documents in the context of the time in which they were written. Students should make a habit of testing the data presented in primary source materials with evidence gleaned from their study of history.

Dramatic Moment

In her autobiography, *Living My Life*, Emma Goldman describes her feelings as a seventeen-year-old arriving in a new country in 1885, and her feelings as a fifty-year-old woman upon her deportation from the United States in 1919, cast out of her chosen home.

My first contact with the sea was terrifying and fascinating. The freedom from home, the beauty and wonder of the endless expanse in its varying moods, and the exciting anticipation of what the new land would offer stimulated my imagination and sent my blood tingling.... Helena and I stood pressed to each other, enraptured by the sight of the harbour and the Statue of Liberty suddenly emerging from the mist. Ah, there she was, the symbol of hope, of freedom, of opportunity! She held her torch high to light the way to the free country, the asylum for the oppressed of all lands. We, too, Helena and I, would find a place in the generous heart of America. Our spirits were high, our eyes filled with tears . . .

. . . It was almost midnight when suddenly I caught the sound of approaching footsteps. "Look out, someone's coming!" Ethel whispered. I snatched up my papers and letters and hid them under my pillow. Then we threw ourselves on our beds, covered up, and pretended to be asleep.

The steps halted at our room. There came the rattling of keys; the door was unlocked and noisily thrown open. Two guards and a matron entered. "Get up now," they commanded, "get your things ready!". . .

Deep snow lay on the ground; the air was cut by a biting wind. A row of armed civilians and soldiers stood along the road to the bank. Dimly the outlines of a barge were visible through the morning mist. One by one the deportees marched, flanked on each side by the uniformed men, curses and threats accompanying the thud of their feet on the frozen ground. When the last man had crossed the gangplank, the girls and I were ordered to follow, officers in front and in back of us . . .

I looked at my watch. It was 4:20 A.M. on the day of our Lord, December 21, 1919. On the deck above us I could hear the men tramping up and down in the wintry blast. I felt dizzy, visioning a transport of politicals doomed to Siberia, the étape of former Russian days. Russia of the past rose before me and I saw the revolutionary martyrs being driven into exile. But no, it was New York, it was America, the land of liberty! Through the port-hole I could see the great city receding into the distance, its sky-line of buildings traceable by their rearing heads. It was my beloved city, the metropolis of the New World. It was America, indeed, America repeating the terrible scenes of tsarist Russia! I glanced up—the Statue of Liberty!

Emma Goldman, The Making of a Radical (one to two days)

A. Objectives

1. Examine pivotal periods in Goldman's life.

2. Explain the factors which helped form Goldman's political and social philosophy.

3. Compare and contrast conflicting definitions of anarchism.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Set the stage for discussion of the life and times of Emma Goldman by establishing the historical context of the period, especially immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe from the 1880s to World War I. Students should be aware of factors that prompted Russian Jewish emigration including the pogroms of czarist Russia. Before beginning the lesson, students need to read text accounts of radicalism in the U.S. labor movement at the turn of the century and the growing public outcries against immigration as a source of socialist agitation and anarchism.

2. Have students read the biographical essay on Emma Goldman (**Document 1**). Divide the class into small groups and distribute a copy of the time line (**Document 2**) to each group. Ask students to review the pivotal periods in Emma Goldman's life and elaborate on historical events that helped formulate her radicalism. Refer to the text or source books on late nineteenth-century U.S. history to insure that students understand the context of the time. How did world events influence Goldman's life and ideology? What was the significance of the Haymarket Affair (1886) in shaping Emma Goldman's political philosophy? How did Goldman view the Homestead Strike of 1892?

3. Using the definitions provided in **Document 3**, define anarchism. Describe, in your own words, Goldman's definition. Examine the glossary of a basic United States history or government textbook to compare and contrast the definitions of anarchism with the dictionary or encyclopedia definition. How do standard definitions of anarchism differ from Emma Goldman's definition? In a brainstorming activity list examples of the use of the term anarchy or anarchism in today's world—in slogans, graffiti, music lyrics, groups or cults. Does the meaning of the word change in different contexts?

4. Show the class the cover of the first issue of Goldman's anarchist magazine, *Mother Earth* (**Document 4**). Working in groups, analyze the illustration, studying the images and symbols that are used. What does the scene call to mind? How are symbols used to convey a message? Based on what students have gleaned from Goldman's definition of anarchism, what symbols on the cover of *Mother Earth* are intended to illustrate her concept of anarchism? Which medium conveys the power and meaning of a complex political concept more effectively—the written word or visual imagery? Explain.

5. Extend the lesson by having students redraw the cover illustration of *Mother Earth* to reflect their perception of Goldman's definition of anarchism or to design a cover of a magazine reflecting a conflicting definition of the term. What symbols are incorporated in these drawings? How did students use symbols to convey different feelings? What symbols or images were used to appeal to pre-conceived public attitudes?

STUDENT HANDOUT

Document Analysis Worksheet

1. Type of Document: (check one)

_____ Journal
_____ Letter
_____ Speech
_____ Telegram
_____ Other (specify type) ______________________________
_____ Legislative Resolution
_____ Newspaper Editorial
_____ Congressional Record
_____ Memorandum

2. Date of the Document: ________________________

3. Author (or creator) of the document:

____

4. For what audience was the document written?

____

5. Document information:

A. List important pieces of information presented in the document.

____

____

____

____

____

____

B. Why was the document written?

____

____

____

____

C. What evidence in the document helped you to determine why it was written? (Quote from the document if appropriate.)

D. List two things the document tells us about the United States at the time it was written.

E. Write a question to the author which is left unanswered by the document.

This worksheet is an adaptation of one designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public programs, National Archives, Washington, DC.

Biographical Essay on Emma Goldman

Secondary Source

Emma Goldman was born in the Jewish quarter of a small Russian city in modern Lithuania on June 27, 1869. Her painful recollections of childhood include witnessing violence against women and children, peasants brutalized by landlords, Jews ghettoized and frequently forced to move in search of work, and endless streams of corrupt petty officials extorting fees from a relatively powerless constituency. Her family life was difficult. Goldman's father, whom she referred to as "the nightmare of my childhood," made her the special object of his frequent rages. Her mother, who could plead eloquently and persuasively on behalf of young men about to be drafted into the Russian army, was nonetheless emotionally distant from her children and frequently depressed.

At thirteen, Goldman moved with her family to the Jewish ghetto in St. Petersburg where ideas of revolution filled the air. The Russian populists and nihilists sparked Goldman's imagination and reinforced her faith that injustice could and must be confronted. An avid reader, Goldman devoured forbidden novels and political tracts and found role models in the young women of the revolution. Goldman desperately wanted to help create a new world of equality, justice, and family harmony.

Goldman's father had no such public vision of his daughter's future, instead he was determined that she marry young and live a conventional life. His attempts to secure her engagement at age fifteen precipitated her flight from home. She and her older sister Helena fled Russia for America. Full of optimism, Goldman entered a new country where she assumed that she had escaped the traditional barriers to women's freedom so pervasive in the old world. She settled with relatives in 1885 in Rochester, New York. Sadly she discovered that family life in the Jewish ghetto of Rochester and piecework in the textile factory did not differ significantly from what she had left behind in Russia. Asserting her new freedom in intimate life in America, Goldman soon fell in love with a co-worker and chose to marry him.

In 1886, a shocking political event changed her life. To protest the suppression of a strike at the McCormick Reaper Works, labor and radical activists held a mass rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square. A bomb exploded, killing seven police officers and injuring many protestors in the crowd. Hundreds of socialists and anarchists were rounded up and eight anarchists were indicted. All eight were found guilty and seven were sentenced to hang. On the day before the execution, one of the seven committed suicide and the governor of Illinois commuted the sentence for two others; the remaining four were executed. From the *scaffold, August Spies cried out, "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today." Goldman recognized a similarity between the ideas of the Chicago anarchists and those of the Russian populists. She began reading everything she could find on anarchism.*

With the crystallization of Goldman's political ideas came changes in her personal life. Risking the stigma of divorce, Goldman left her husband and headed for a new life, first in New Haven, Connecticut, and then in New York City. Within a year she was living in an apartment with other Russian-born anarchists, including her first great love and eventual lifelong comrade, Alexander Berkman. The twenty-year-old idealist soon became a prominent member of New York City's immigrant anarchist community.

Her newfound stability was undermined in 1892 when Henry Clay Frick of the Carnegie Steel Company provoked a bloody confrontation with workers during a strike at Carnegie's plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Berkman and Goldman decided to retaliate; Berkman went to Homestead to shoot Frick to demonstrate to the world that violence begets violence and that workers would no longer accept the brutality of the capitalist factory owners. Instead, Berkman wounded Frick but did not kill him; he served a fourteen- year prison term, not as a hero of the working class but rather as the catalyst for the resurgence of a nationwide fear of anarchists. Insufficient evidence of collaboration in the attempt on Frick's life allowed Goldman to escape indictment, but her widely known intimate association with Berkman inspired the press to sensationalize its portrayal of "Red Emma" as the fearsome demon of unharnessed sexuality and violence.

This violent image was reinforced in 1901 when President William McKinley was assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, who claimed to be an anarchist acting under Goldman's influence. Although she did not know the young man who evidently had attended one of her lectures, she was immediately arrested as an accomplice to the crime. The stigma of this association was so great that even after she was set free for lack of evidence against her, it was several years before she could safely appear in public under her own name. Even so, she tempted the fates by continuing to address select meetings. By the time she re-emerged fully, her lectures were prefaced by a disavowal of the efficacy of the tactics of individual acts of political violence with one caveat to the public: she asked them to resist the inclination to abandon political prisoners whose tactics may differ from their own. Based on her growing conviction that "the most violent element in society is ignorance," she founded a political and literary magazine, Mother Earth, *which ran from 1906 to 1917. It was not only a forum for anarchist ideas and news of international movements but also an opportunity to publish poetry and drama criticism. It introduced its subscribers to dramatists like Ibsen, Strindberg, and Shaw, and to political cartoonists and artists like*

Man Ray. The magazine's circulation was not limited to the United States. Gradually its influence and readership spread to Europe as Goldman's international reputation grew.

Goldman expanded her audience in the United States through national lecture tours on behalf of the magazine. For almost ten years, from 1908 until 1917, she was assisted in her tours by an amorous and flamboyant road manager, Dr. Ben Reitman. Goldman and Reitman crisscrossed the country, appearing before ever widening audiences curious about Goldman's political and social challenge and appreciative of the support she gave to each locality's labor and political battles. On their 1910 tour, for example, Goldman spoke 120 times in thirty-seven cities in twenty-five states to 25,000 people.

Her lectures were varied and expansive. It was not unusual for Goldman to speak on "The Intermediate Sex: A Discussion of Homosexuality" one night and "The Social Value of Modern Drama" the next. Appreciating literature and drama as powerful vehicles for awakening social change, particularly on sex and gender issues, Goldman welcomed the challenge of alerting and educating the American public to the importance of modern European and Russian drama. She believed that education was a lifelong process and that public schools often excluded open-ended discussions and provocative challenges to the status quo from the curriculum. As a proponent of the Modern School movement, which fostered independence and creativity, she often asserted that a state-run school "is for the child what the prison is for the convict and the barracks for the soldier a place where everything is being used to break the will of the child, and then to pound, knead, and shape it into a being utterly foreign to itself."

This belief in the importance of widening the experience of the individual had specific ramifications for women. Goldman will be remembered for her pioneering work for the liberation of women, identifying birth control as an essential element in the larger battle for women's sexual and economic freedom. Goldman believed that the law that denied women access to birth control information was symptomatic of general social and economic injustice as well as the particular oppression of women. She was a political mentor to the young birth-control pioneer Margaret Sanger, though Sanger eventually parted ways with Goldman and shifted her focus to the single, more pragmatic goal of winning the legal right to distribute birth control information. Goldman continued to insist that the battle for woman's control over her body should be part of a broader struggle against the social, economic, and political conditions that fostered and reinforced inequality.

This was not the only time Goldman broke with the other feminists of her day; she criticized the women's suffrage movement for its claim that the vote was the *best vehicle to secure the equality of women, pointing out that it would not adequately address the issue of the liberation of working-class women, nor ensure a gentler form of government.*

Goldman spoke eloquently on the political dimension of personal life, and women, from within and outside of the suffrage movement, crowded into Goldman's lectures. Of particular interest was her lecture on "Marriage and Love" in which she articulated the liberating potential of free love in contrast to the stifling aspects of marriage for women. As an anarchist, she hoped to be the living example of her ideal. Yet privately she agonized over whether her own failure in love made her unworthy of delivering this message. Throughout her ten-year love affair with her road manager Ben Reitman, her passionate letters reveal dark feelings of jealousy written at the same time she spoke eloquently on the platform about the corrosive effect of possessiveness in love; similarly she wrote to Reitman with a longing for security and rest, just as she became the symbol and the harbinger of the total independence of women. Her inner doubts and anguish prompted her to fear that if she remained "an abject slave to her love" she would stand "condemned before the bar of [her] own reason."

Goldman's eloquence on the themes of personal life as they related to political and social forces was in part the key to her popularity. Threatened by her anarchist politics, her persuasive powers, and her discussion of topics often considered taboo, the police and local authorities frequently banned her lectures. Inevitably a debate over the rights of free speech would follow. Goldman was relentless in her assertion of the critical importance of the right to freedom of speech in a democratic society. Braving the mounting obstacles to speaking on unpopular issues, Goldman paid dearly for her principles. Under surveillance most of her adult life, she was arrested and jailed countless times and spent her last eighteen months in the United States imprisoned on federal charges.

Her longest jail sentence was the direct result of her organizing efforts against the involuntary conscription of young men into the military. Within weeks of America's entry into World War I, Goldman and her old friend Alexander Berkman helped launch the No-Conscription League to educate and encourage conscientious objection to the war. In the past, Goldman had condemned U.S. expansionism during the Spanish-American War and denounced British imperialism during the Boer War, but the patriotic fervor surrounding World War I bred a more severe intolerance for dissent, considering such opposition to war a "clear and present danger" to the nation. The government had Berkman and Goldman arrested on the charge of conspiracy against the draft. They were convicted and sentenced to two years in prison with the possibility of deportation upon their release.

Alarmed by the post-World War I labor turbulence and by recurring bombing incidents, the Wilson administration retaliated against the most vulnerable radical and progressive organizations. Just after her release from prison on September 27, 1919, Goldman was re-arrested by the young J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Justice Department's General Intelligence Division. Writing the briefs and building the case against Goldman himself, Hoover quietly worked behind the scenes to persuade the courts to deny her citizenship claims and to deport her. On December 21, 1919, Goldman, Berkman, and 247 other foreign-born radicals were herded aboard the S.S. Buford *and sent to the Soviet Union.*

With the exception of a brief ninety-day lecture tour in 1934, Emma Goldman spent the remaining twenty-one years of her life in exile from the United States. During this period she lived in Russia, Sweden, Germany, France, England, Spain, and Canada, never finding a political "home" outside the United States.

In no country did Goldman feel more estranged than in her native Russia. She was shocked by the ruthless authoritarianism of the Bolshevik regime, its severe repression of anarchists, and its disregard for individual freedom. Among the first vocal opponents on the left to criticize Soviet Russia, she alienated many of her peers in Europe and America. In a face-to-face meeting with Lenin in 1920 she questioned the Soviet leader on the lack of freedom of speech and the press in Soviet Russia. Disillusioned with the direction of the revolution, Goldman and Berkman eventually left Russia.

Exiled, wandering from country to country, Goldman felt constrained and often depressed. In the 1920s and 1930s, while struggling to survive economically, she engaged in a variety of literary projects. The most enduring product of this period of self-reflection was her autobiography, Living My Life *(1931).*

Goldman was sixty-seven years old when the Spanish Civil War erupted in July of 1936. The promise of an anarchist revolution in Spain revived her broken spirits. When Spanish comrades asked Goldman to direct their English propaganda campaign, she visited collectivized towns and farms in Aragon and the Levante and was electrified by what seemed to her to be the beginnings of a true anarchist revolution. Dismayed but not vanquished by Franco's triumph in early 1939, Goldman moved to Canada where she devoted the last year of her life to securing political asylum for women and children refugees of the Spanish war, publicizing legislative dangers to free speech in Canada, and campaigning on behalf of foreign-born radicals threatened with deportation to fascist countries.

After Goldman's death on May 14, 1940, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service allowed her body to be readmitted to the United States. She is *buried in Waldheim Cemetery, Chicago, near the Haymarket anarchists who so inspired her.*

From *The Life and Times of Emma Goldman: A Curriculum for Middle and High School Students* by Candace Falk, with Lyn Reese and Mary Agnes Dougherty (University of California Regents, 1992)

Time Line

1869	Emma Goldman born in Kovno, Lithuania.
1885	Goldman emigrates to the United States, settling in Rochester, New York.
1886	Haymarket bombing: At the height of the fight for the eight-hour work day, a bomb is thrown at police at a mass meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, to protest the police shooting the previous day of strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works. Though the culprit is never identified, eight anarchist leaders are tried for murder and found guilty.
1887	Goldman marries Jacob Kersner, gaining U.S. citizenship; unhappy in the marriage and attracted increasingly to anarchism, Goldman divorces Kersner within the year.
1887	Execution of four of the Haymarket anarchists.
1889	Goldman moves to New York City.
1890	Goldman's first lecture tour; speaks in Rochester, Buffalo, and Cleveland.
1892	Homestead, Pa., steel strike leads to a bloody confrontation between strikers and Pinkerton detectives; Goldman's comrade Alexander Berkman attempts to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, superintendent of the Carnegie Steel Company, and is sentenced to twenty-two years in prison; Goldman suspected of helping to plan the attempt on Frick's life.
1893	Goldman prosecuted for a speech at a demonstration of the unemployed in Union Square, New York City; found guilty of aiding and abetting an unlawful assembly; sentenced to one year in prison on Blackwell's Island, where she apprentices as a nurse to the inmates.
1894	Strike at the Pullman railroad car plant to protest layoffs and wage cuts spreads to many western railroads after the Pullman strikers appeal for support to American Railway Union leader Eugene Debs; strike is broken by court rulings against the union and by federal troops under orders from President Grover Cleveland.
1895-96	Goldman receives formal training in nursing in Vienna.
1898	Spanish-American War: the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam ceded by Spain to the victorious United States.

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 2

1901	Assassination of President William McKinley by an anarchist. Goldman is unjustly implicated, arrested, held for questioning, and released. Goldman changes her name and, for a brief period, goes underground to avoid public harassment.
1903	Goldman helps found the Free Speech League in New York City in response to the first prosecution under a federal anti-anarchist law that barred anarchists from entering the country.
1905	Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) founded.
1906	*Mother Earth* magazine is founded by Emma Goldman and comrades; published until 1917.
1906	Goldman begins annual lecture tours to raise money for the magazine, speaking on a broad range of issues including modern European drama, women's equality and independence, sexuality and free love, child development and education, and religious fundamentalism.
1906	Alexander Berkman released from prison.
1908	Goldman denied the use of auditoriums in Chicago for meetings; meets Ben Reitman, who offers her his "Hobo Hall," and eventually becomes her lover and the manager of her lecture tours.
1908	IWW free speech fight in Missoula, Montana. (Free speech fights occurred often during this period when people like Goldman and organizations like the IWW tried to hold public meetings to express their views but were prevented from doing so by local authorities.)
1909	IWW free speech fight in Spokane, Washington.
1909-10	"Uprising of the Twenty Thousand," a general strike by women garment workers in New York City.
1910	Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays* published.
1911	Fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City kills 146 people, mostly young women, when exits that were kept locked to prevent union organizers from entering the premises prevented workers from escaping the fire, forcing many of them to jump to their deaths.
1912	Free speech fight in San Diego; Ben Reitman dragged from the city by vigilantes and brutalized.

1912	Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike led by the IWW.
1913	IWW strike of Paterson, New Jersey, silk mills.
1913	Colorado coal strike to protest low pay, dangerous working conditions, and mine companies' domination of all aspects of workers' lives.
1913	The Armory show in New York City introduces European modern art to an American audience for the first time, creating a public scandal.
1914	Goldman's *Social Significance of the Modern Drama* published.
1914	Ludlow Massacre: Colorado National Guard troops and mine guards attack a tent colony inhabited by striking miners and their families; among the dead are two women and eleven children; in response, the miners mount an armed rebellion, which is crushed after ten days by federal troops.
1914	World War I begins in Europe.
1915-16	Goldman lectures frequently on birth control and is arrested several times; spends fifteen days in jail on one occasion for distributing birth control information.
1916	Goldman and Berkman defend Thomas Mooney and Warren Billings, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of throwing a bomb into the crowd at a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, which killed ten and wounded forty people.
1917	The United States declares war on Germany, entering World War I. Federal government imposes a draft. Goldman founds the No-Conscription League with Berkman, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, and Leonard Abbott to oppose the draft. Goldman and Berkman tried and convicted for conspiracy to obstruct the draft, sentenced to two years imprisonment.
1917	Espionage Act passed.
1918	Sedition Act passed.
1918-19	Goldman serves time at state penitentiary in Jefferson City, Missouri, Berkman in Atlanta federal penitentiary.
1919	Goldman and Berkman deported from the United States with 247 other alien radicals. (Goldman's husband had been denaturalized by the government in

	1908 in order to deprive her of her citizenship. The 1918 Alien Act provided that an alien could be deported, if found to be an anarchist, at any time after entering the United States.)
1919-20	"Red Scare": In the United States, the intolerance and suspicion of foreigners and radicals increases in the postwar years as the Bolsheviks consolidate their victory in Russia, producing fear of worldwide revolution; climaxes in the 1920 Palmer raids, when thousands of foreign-born radicals are rounded up, and many deported.
1920	Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution (giving women the right to vote). ratified.
1920	Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian anarchists, arrested for the murder of a payroll guard in Massachusetts; the accused widely seen as victims of the anti-radical and anti-foreign sentiment of the period, an impression confirmed by the conduct of the trial.
1920-21	Goldman and Berkman in exile in Soviet Russia, where they confront the Bolsheviks' denial of free speech and expression and especially the suppression of anarchists.
1921	December, Goldman and Berkman leave Russia.
1922-24	Exile in Berlin, Germany, after a brief stay in Stockholm, Sweden.
1923	Goldman publishes *My Disillusionment in Russia.*
1924-26	Goldman lives in London, writing and lecturing on conditions in Soviet Russia and on modern drama.
1926-28	Goldman lives in Canada. Based in Toronto, she writes and lectures on Russia, modern drama, and social issues.
1927	Execution of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti provokes international outcry.
1928-36	Goldman finds a base for her writing and a respite from her lecture tours in a cottage in Saint-Tropez, France, purchased for her by philanthropist Peggy Guggenheim.
1931	Goldman publishes her autobiography, *Living My Life.*
1932	Goldman lectures in Scandinavia and Germany on the menace of fascism and the rise of Nazism.

1933	Goldman expelled from Holland.
1934	Goldman granted a visa to enter the United States for a ninety-day lecture tour.
1936	Ill with cancer, Berkman commits suicide.
1936-38	Goldman visits Spain and enlists in the Loyalist cause in the Spanish Civil War, later opening an office in London to raise support for the Spanish anarchists fighting on the Loyalist side.
1939	Goldman moves to Canada after the defeat of the Spanish Loyalists to raise funds for women and child refugees from the Civil War.
1940	Goldman dies in Toronto and is buried in Chicago near the Haymarket anarchists who first inspired her in 1887.

Emma Goldman, 1915 Library of Congress

Anarchism

Emma Goldman's definition of anarchism differs from standard dictionary definitions. Goldman's definition is excerpted from her writings in *Anarchism and Other Essays.*

I shall begin with a definition: Anarchism: the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property: liberation from the shackles and restraint of government.

Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

Anarchism is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the dawn.

The following definitions are taken from an unabridged dictionary and a standard encyclopedia.

Anarchism

1 the theory that formal government of any kind is unnecessary and wrong in principle;
the doctrine or practice of an anarchist.

2 anarchy; confusion; lawlessness.

Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary.

Anarchism

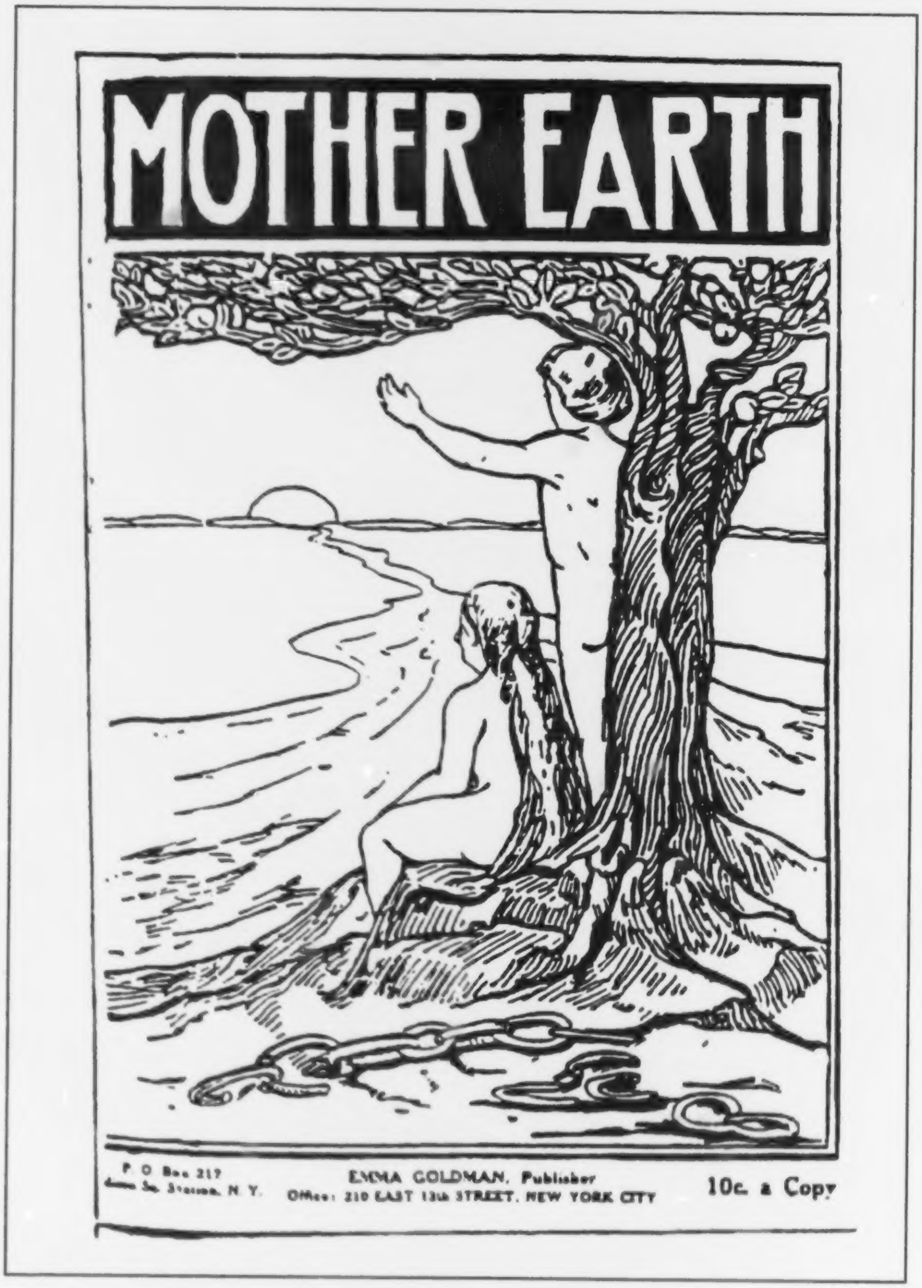
Anarchism is the belief that it is practicable and desirable to abolish all organized government, laws, and machinery for law enforcement. Anarchists aim at a stateless society in which harmony is maintained by voluntary agreements among individuals and groups . . .

Government, anarchists believe, is only needed to defend injustice. Without state support, they expect that unjust social arrangements will quickly disappear and be replaced by fair and equitable agreements freely accepted and maintained by all.

Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 1

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 4

The illustration below appeared on the cover of the first issue of Goldman's anarchist magazine, *Mother Earth.* The magazine published writings on anarchism, news of national and international anarchist and labor activities, and poetry and drama criticism.



MOTHER EARTH

P. O. Box 217
[illegible] Sq. Station, N. Y.

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher
Office: 210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

10c. a Copy

Public Perceptions of Emma Goldman (two days)

A. Objectives

1. Examine multiple perspectives by interpreting differing accounts of Goldman's role in the assassination of President William McKinley.

2. Examine political cartoons and explain how symbols and caricatures are used to convey messages.

3. Using selected political cartoons, explain how immigration was viewed as a source for anarchism in the United States.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read accounts of the assassination of President William McKinley. Barbara Tuchman gives a brief account of the assassination and background information on Leon Czolgosz in *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World before the War: 1890-1914*. Chapter 2, "The Ideal and the Deed: The Anarchists, 1890-1914" is good background reading for placing the McKinley assassination in the context of international anarchist activities of the period.

2. Have students read excerpts from Sidney Fine's "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," a secondary account published in *The American Historical Review* (**Document 5**).

3. Using an overhead, show the *Chicago Daily Tribune* illustration and headline labeling Emma Goldman the "High Priestess of Anarchy" (**Document 6**). What does the illustration and headline say about Goldman's role in Czolgosz's assault on the President?

4. Distribute copies of the article that accompanied the picture and have students, within small groups, chart the evidence presented therein that implicates Goldman in the assault on President McKinley. What does the *Chicago Daily Tribune* report regarding Goldman's comments on violence? Why, according to the article, did Goldman refrain from giving "free rein to her thoughts?" Are there any discrepancies in the article? Do you think this speech, as reported in the *Daily Tribune*, incites violence? Explain.

5. Distribute copies of Emma Goldman's account of the assault on President McKinley and the episode regarding her arrest in Chicago (**Document 7**). Students discuss, within their groups, ways in which Goldman's account

differs from that of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. How does Goldman's account of her arrest reflect on law enforcement agencies in Chicago?

6. Distribute copies of the editorial from the *San Francisco Call*, September 29, 1901 (**Document 8**), to each group. Students read and discuss the article within their assigned groups. What is the editor's attitude toward anarchists? How does the editor define anarchism? Contrast the editor's definition of civilization with the anarchist definition as suggested by the cover of *Mother Earth* (**Document 4**). What values are defended in the editorial? How was the anarchist position on the role of government different from other movements of the period that advocated social change?

7. Duplicate copies of the political cartoons in **Document 9** and give each group a different cartoon. The cartoons are: "Laws of Our Government," cartoon from the Yiddish Press, "Now He Will Have to Act," "A Menace," "Stop!," "All They Want Is Our Flag," and "Anarchy." Students, working within their assigned group, discuss the cartoon and the message it conveys. Each group, using a transparency of their cartoon, reports to the class and explains the meaning of the cartoon. In a general class discussion investigate the symbols that were used in the cartoons. What is the image of an anarchist presented in the cartoons? How might these images have influenced public opinion? Is there a bias presented in the cartoons? Do the cartoons suggest or imply a remedy for the "problems" created by anarchists? What can be read into the cartoons regarding the issue of free speech? Extend by having individual students develop original cartoons reflecting the viewpoint expressed in the *San Francisco Call* editorial.

Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley

Secondary Source

Writing in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July 1955), Sidney Fine examined the role of anarchism in the McKinley assassination. Professor Fine writes the following regarding Emma Goldman's association with the assassin and confirms her assertion that she knew nothing of the attempt on the president's life.

> *. . . Although the assassin's connections with anarchism were of the most tenuous sort and although insanity rather than anarchism may have prompted his actions, there was a general disposition among a public conditioned to think of anarchism in terms of Haymarket and Berkman's attack on Frick to hold anarchism itself responsible for the death of the President and to view Czolgosz as but the instrument of an alien and noxious doctrine that regarded assassination as a legitimate weapon to employ against government and constituted authority. It was therefore deemed necessary not merely to try and to execute the assassin, as was promptly done, and to apprehend those who might have conspired with him, but to take action against resident anarchists in general, since they were all, in effect, accessories of the crime.*
>
> *Buffalo police authorities let it be known soon after Czolgosz was apprehended that they were quite certain that fellow anarchists had aided him in the planning and execution of the crime. Suspicion immediately centered upon Emma Goldman, the high priestess of the communist anarchists, and the group of Chicago anarchists associated with the publication of* Free Society, *the leading English-language communist-anarchist periodical in the United States. Czolgosz had heard Emma speak in Cleveland on May 5, 1901, and had been so impressed with her that he had sought her out in Chicago and had spoken to her briefly on July 12, 1901, as she was leaving the city. Miss Goldman introduced him to some of her Chicago anarchist friends, including Abe Isaak, Sr., editor of* Free Society. *Isaak invited Czolgosz to his home and promised to find him lodgings and a job but was unable to comply with his request for funds. Although this was the last either Miss Goldman or Isaak saw of Czolgosz and although Isaak apparently came to suspect Czolgosz as a possible spy and so informed the readers of his journal on September 1, 1901, five days before the attack on McKinley, Buffalo authorities nevertheless suspected them of complicity in the assassination and requested their arrest.*
>
> *On the night of the assassination Chicago police arrested Abe Isaak, Sr., his wife, his son, and his daughter, and five other Chicago anarchists. All*

were charged with conspiracy to kill the President, although only Isaak Sr.'s arrest had been requested by Buffalo. The following day the number of prisoners was raised to twelve with the arrest of three more anarchists then residing in Chicago. The prisoners were arraigned on September 9, 1901; the men were remanded for ten days without bail, and the women, of whom there were three, were first allowed to bail and then later in the day released.

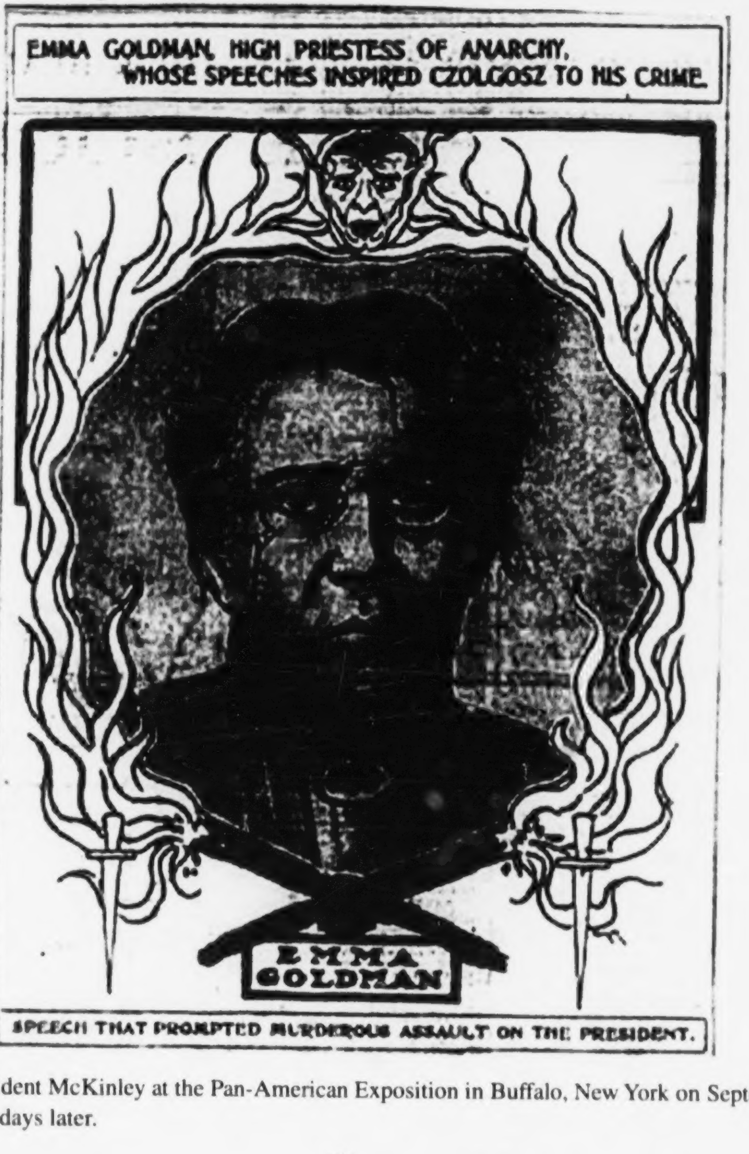
The bag of anarchist prisoners in Chicago was increased by one on September 10 with the arrest of Emma Goldman. Miss Goldman had been in St. Louis when news arrived that McKinley had been slain, that her Chicago friends were under arrest, and that she herself was wanted by the Chicago police for alleged participation in a conspiracy to assassinate the President. Apparently deciding to give herself up, Emma entrained for Chicago, arrived there on September 9, and was apprehended the following morning.

Miss Goldman was arraigned on September 11, but bail was refused her pending a decision on a plea for writs of habeas corpus already initiated by attorneys for the Chicago anarchists. Hearings on the latter matter and on the conspiracy charge were several times postponed, chiefly because of the failure of Buffalo authorities to supply any supporting evidence. Bail was eventually fixed on September 18 at $5,000 for the Isaak group and at $10,000 for Emma. The hearings on the conspiracy charge were finally held on September 23, but since the Buffalo police had been unable to produce any evidence of conspiracy or to find any grounds for requesting extradition, the prisoners had to be released . . .

Sidney Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July 1955), 780-82.

Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy

On September 6, 1901, anarchist Leon Czolgosz assassinated President William McKinley.[1] Although Emma Goldman did not know Czolgosz and opposed assassination as a political tactic, she was implicated and arrested as a co-conspirator. Because Czolgosz had attended one of Goldman's speeches, the press blamed Goldman for inspiring the assassination of the President. The assassination incident increased the public's belief that anarchism was a philosophy of violence. This demonic portrayal of Goldman appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1901.



EMMA GOLDMAN, HIGH PRIESTESS OF ANARCHY, WHOSE SPEECHES INSPIRED CZOLGOSZ TO HIS CRIME.

SPEECH THAT PROMPTED MURDEROUS ASSAULT ON THE PRESIDENT.

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[1] Czolgosz shot President McKinley at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York on September 6; McKinley died eight days later.

SPEECH THAT PROMPTED MURDEROUS ASSAULT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Cleveland. O. Sept. 7 [*Special*] An address , delivered in this city on May 6 by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, is believed largely responsible for the attempt on the life of President McKinley.

Miss Goldman spoke here twice on that date, and a copy of her address was found in the pocket of LeonCzolgosz when searched by the Buffalo police. In the audience on that occasion was the man who tried to kill the President, and his associates now recall that he was one of he most enthusiastic in his applause of the utterances of Miss Goldman .

The hall in which the lecture was delivered is at 170 Superior street, the same hall in which the Anarchists now meet in this city.

In the course of her address of May 6, Miss Goldman first outlined the principles of anarchy and detailed the methods whereby she hoped to accomplish the ends of anarchy. Her talk was full of forceful passages, and some cases more notable for their strength than for their elegance.

"Men under the present state of society," she said, "are mere products of circumstances. Under the galling yoke of government, ecclesiasticism, and a bond of custom and prejudice, it is impossible for the individual to work out his own career as he could wish. Anarchism aims at a new and complete freedom. It strives to bring about the freedom which is not only the freedom from within but a freedom from without, which will prevent any man from having a desire to interfere in any way with the liberty of his neighbor.

"Vanderbilt says, 'I am a free man within myself, but the others be damned.' This is not the freedom we are striving for. We merely desire complete individual liberty, and this can never be obtained as long as there is an existing government.

"We do not favor the socialistic idea of converting men and women into mere producing machines under the eye of a paternal govenment. We go to the opposite extreme and demand the fullest and most complete liberty for each and every person to work out his own salvation upon any line that he pleases. The degrading notions of men and women as machines is far from our ideals of life.

"Anarchism has nothing to do with future governments or economic arrangements. We do not favor any particular settlement in this line, but merely ask to do away with the present evils. The future will provide these arrangements after our work has been done. Anarchism deals merely with social relations, and not with economic arrangement."

The speaker then deprecated the idea that all Anarchists were in favor of violence or bomb throwing. She declared that nothing was further from the principles they support. She went on, however, into a detailed explanation of the different crimes committed by Anarchists lately, declaring that the motive was good in each case, and that these acts were merely a matter of temperament.

Some men were so constituted, she said, that they were unable to stand idly by and see the wrong that was being endured by their fellow-mortals. She herself did not believe in these methods, but she did not think they should be condemned in view of the high and noble motives which prompted their perpetration. She continued: "Some believe we should first obtain by force and let the intelligence and education come afterwards."

Miss Goldman did not hesitate to put forward a number of sentiments far more radical and sensational than any ever publicly advanced here. During Miss Goldman's lecture a strong detail of police was in the hall to keep her from uttering sentiments which were regarded as too radical.

This accounts for the fact that the speaker did not give free rein to her thoughts on this occasion. By reason of anarchistic uprisings elsewhere it was thought best by the city officials to curb the utterances of the woman.

Chicago Daily Tribune,
September 8, 1901

Emma Goldman's Account of the McKinley Assassination and Her Arrest in Chicago

Writing in her autobiography, *Living My Life*, Emma Goldman explained how she came to hear of the attempt on President McKinley's life while in St. Louis.

Excerpt from *Living My Life* by Emma Goldman
(Volume 1, pp. 295-96, 298-300)

As I stood on a street-corner wearily waiting for a car, I heard a newsboy cry: "Extra! Extra! President McKinley shot!" I bought a paper, but the car was so jammed that it was impossible to read. Around me people were talking about the shooting of the President.

Carl [Nold, a friend of Goldman] had arrived at the house before me. He had already read the account. The President had been shot at the Exposition grounds in Buffalo by a young man by the name of Leon Czolgosz. "I never heard the name," Carl said; "have you?" "No, never," I replied. "It is fortunate that you are here and not in Buffalo," he continued. "As usual, the papers will connect you with this act." "Nonsense!" I said, "the American press is fantastic enough, but it would hardly concoct such a crazy story."

The next morning I went to the stationery story to see the owner. After considerable persuasion I succeeded in getting an order amounting to a thousand dollars, the largest I had ever secured. Naturally I was very happy over it. While I was waiting for the man to fill out his order, I caught the headline of the newspaper lying on his desk: "ASSASSIN OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AN ANARCHIST. CONFESSES TO HAVING BEEN INCITED BY EMMA GOLDMAN. WOMAN ANARCHIST WANTED."

By great effort I strove to preserve my composure, completed the business, and walked out of the store. At the next corner I bought several papers and went to a restaurant to read them. They were filled with the details of the tragedy, reporting also the police raid of the Isaak house in Chicago and the arrest of everyone found there. The authorities were going to hold the prisoners until Emma Goldman was found, the papers stated. Already two hundred detectives had been sent out throughout the country to track down Emma Goldman.

On the inside page of one of the papers was a picture of McKinley's slayer. "Why, that's Nieman!" I gasped.

Goldman recalled meeting a young man named Nieman at one of her lectures in Cleveland. He had approached her again in Chicago some months later and expressed his eagerness to get in touch with anarchists since he was now working in Chicago. She had not seen him since.

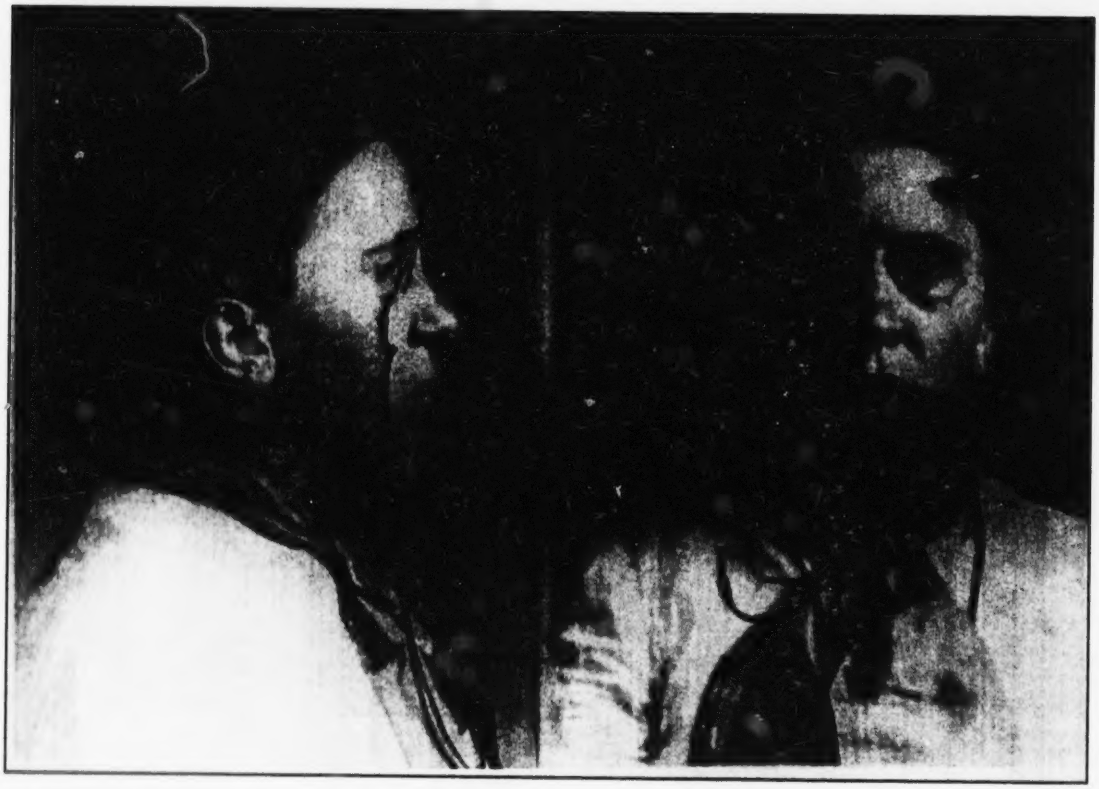
Goldman told Nold of her plans to return to Chicago and give herself up. Unable to convince her to change her mind, he escorted Goldman to the train station. Goldman had sent a discrete message to Max Metzkow telling of her return. Metzkow met the train in Chicago.

> The only person who knew of my coming was Max, to whom I had sent a cautious wire. I caught sight of him before he saw me. Passing him slowly, I whispered: "Walk towards the next street. I'll do the same." No one seemed to follow me.... Max insisted that it was insanity to have come to Chicago....
>
> I realized that I could not stay at their home, nor with any other foreign comrades. I had, however, American friends who were not known as anarchists. Max notified Mr. and Mrs. N., who I knew were very fond of me, of my presence and they came at once. They also were worried about me, but they thought I would be safe with them. It was to be only two days, as I was planning to give myself up to the police as quickly as possible.
>
> Mr. N., the son of a wealthy preacher, lived in a fashionable neighbourhood. "Imagine anybody believing I would shelter Emma Goldman," he said when we had arrived in his house. Late in the afternoon, on Monday, when Mr. N. returned from his office, he informed me that there was a chance to get five thousand dollars from the Chicago *Tribune* for a scoop on an interview. "Fine!" I replied; "we shall need money to fight my case." We agreed that Mr. N. would bring the newspaper representative to his apartment the next morning, and then the three of us would ride down to police headquarters together....
>
> I spent the greater part of the night tearing up letters and papers and destroying what was likely to involve my friends. All preparations completed, I went to sleep. In the morning Mrs. N. left for her office, while her husband went to the Chicago *Tribune*. We agreed that if anyone called, I was to pretend to be the maid.
>
> About nine o'clock, while taking a bath, I heard a sound as if someone was scratching on the window-sill. I paid no attention to it at first. I finished my bath leisurely and began to dress. Then came a crash of glass. I threw my kimono over me and went into the dining room to investigate.
>
> A man was clutching the window-sill with one hand while holding a gun in the other. We were on the third floor and there was no fire-escape. I called out: "Look out, you'll break your neck!" "Why the hell don't you open the door? Are you deaf?" He swung through the window and was in the room. I walked over to the entrance and unlocked it. Twelve men, led by a giant, crowded into the apartment. The leader grabbed me by the arm, bellowing: "Who are you?" "I not speak English—Swedish servant-girl." He released his hold and ordered his men to search the place. Turning to me, he yelled: "Stand back! We're looking for Emma Goldman." Then he held up a photo to me. "See this? We want this woman. Where is she?" I point my finger at the picture and said: "This woman I not see here. This woman big—you look in those small boxes will not find her—she too big." "Oh, shut up!" he bawled; "you can't tell what them anarchists will do."

After they had searched the house, turning everything upside down, the giant walked over to the book-shelves. "Hell, this is a reg'lar preacher's house," he remarked: "look at them books. I don't think Emma Goldman would be here." They were about to leave when one of the detectives suddenly called: "Here, Captain Schuettler, what about this?" It was my fountain-pen, a gift from a friend, with my name on it. I had overlooked it. "By golly, that's a find!" cried the Captain. "She must have been here and she may come back." He ordered two of his men to remain behind.

I saw the game was up. There was no sign of Mr. N or the Tribune man, and it could serve no purpose to keep the farce up longer. "I am Emma Goldman," I announced.

For a moment Schuettler and his men stood there as if petrified. Then the Captain roared: "Well, I'll be damned! You're the shrewdest crook I ever met! Take her, quick!" When I stepped into the cab waiting at the curb, I saw N. approaching in the company of the *Tribune* man. It was too late for the scoop, and I did not want my host recognized. I pretended not to see them.



Police photograph, 1901, Library of Congress

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 8

The Spirit of Anarchy
Editorial, *San Francisco Call*

This editorial first appeared in April 28,1898 in response to one of Emma Goldman's visits to San Francisco where she publicly denounced both the Spanish-American War and President William McKinley. The editorial was reprinted on September 29, 1901, following Goldman's implication in the assassination of President McKinley.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CALL, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1901

The San Francisco Call.

JOHN D. SPRECKELS, Proprietor　Address Communications to W. S. LEAKE, Manager

SUNDAY .... SEPTEMBER 29, 1901

Publication Office .... Market and Tr　S F

THE SPIRIT OF ANARCHY.

The record of several anarchists who by bomb-throwing and other forms of assassination have brought themselves into position in which their lives could be laid bare furnishes an interesting study.

They have usually been found to have lived in violation of the moral law which was in force among men before national codes were formed, and is understood to restrain men even when they are beyond the reach of codes and statutes. Their domestic relations are frequently illicit and their ideas of rights of property are not derived from the ten commandments.

As organized society and the laws of states are based upon the rights of person and property and defend the moral foundation of the domestic relations, anarchy hits its hand against society and against government.

When confronted with such records as are revealed by the arrest of anarchists who have been guilty of assassination it is their practice to reply that the moral offenses committed by them are also practiced by others who profess to support organized society and to support government.

That is obviously true. But such violators of the moral code are secret sinners, who realize their offense and conceal it and shrink from making its practice the social rule by the destruction of government and its institutions.

The spirit of anarchy is one that resists moral restraint, that chafes under the discipline of institutions, and strikes impartiality at church and state, because each is in its way the agent of morality and discipline.

It would seem, then, that anarchy is the cult of the abnormal man, of the class of atavists who reject everything that has come into the world with civilization.

Those who publicly propagate it are the apostles of crime, the evangelists of assassination.

Their cry to the laboring man is that he is a slave, and no means are omitted to embitter him and make him an agent in the destruction of civilization and government.

It needs no profound knowledge or exalted intelligence to discern the motives or deny the premises of anarchy. Modern civilization, which it attacks, has lifted the face of labor from the ground and turned it toward the stars. It has taken labor in the mass out of serfdom into independence, out of a hut into a house. It has dotted the nations with schools wherein the sons and daughters of laboring men have been freely offered the opportunity for a better education than was within the reach of princes a thousand years ago.

Government and civilization have put the personal and property rights of labor on exactly the same footing and under the same judicial protection as the rights of the rich, born in the purple.

The improved economic conditions, due to modern civilization, have put over labor a shelter, into its life comforts, and on its table food that were the exclusive possession of royalty and nobility five hundred years ago.

So government and social institutions can point to what they have done for the enfranchisement of man since the dark ages. To what can anarchy point as its achievements for humanity? To the innocent torn to shreds by dynamite; to the President of a republic murdered in his carriage; to the Czar who decreed freedom and ownership of land to 25,000,000 serfs, assassinated in the streets of St. Petersburg; to a score of faithful policemen murdered in Haymarket square while doing their duty as protectors of person and property. What has all this crime and violence done for labor? Has it given wages, shelter, food and schooling? Has it advanced man a step in the path of further progress which civilization has opened for him?

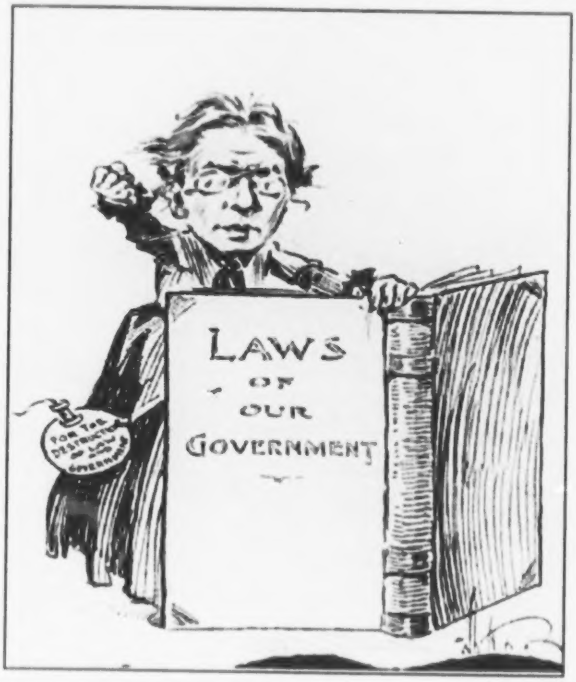
Let it blazon its achievements and inform labor of the mighty things it has wrought for those who toil that the world may strike a balance between murder and civilization as a means for the uplifting of the race.

San Francisco Call, April *28,*1898. ***reprinted*** Sept. 29,1901

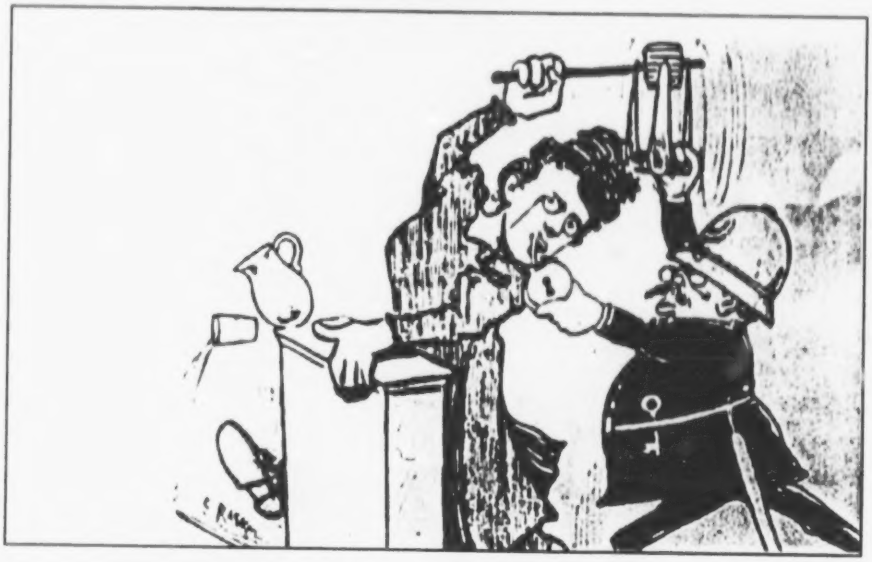
STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 9

Political Cartoons

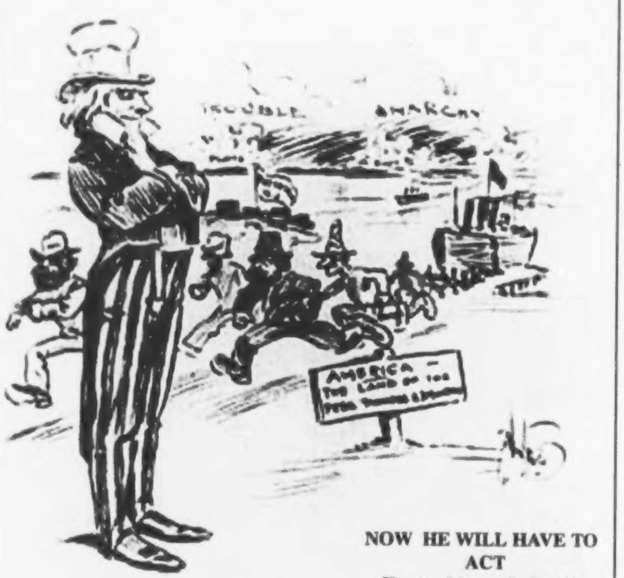
Many Americans drew their images of radicals from cartoons published in newspapers. The press often seized the opportunity to sensationalize not only Goldman's anarchist perspective, but also the particular spectacle of a woman assuming a prominent role in the public arena.



Kansas State Historical Collection

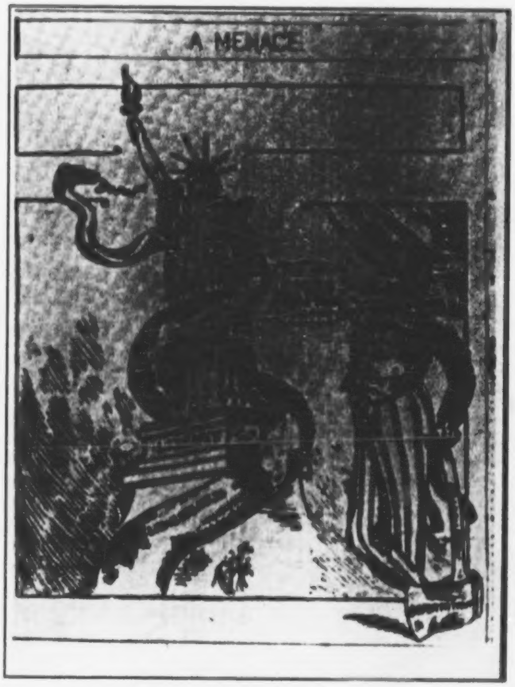


From the Yiddish Press, c. 1901

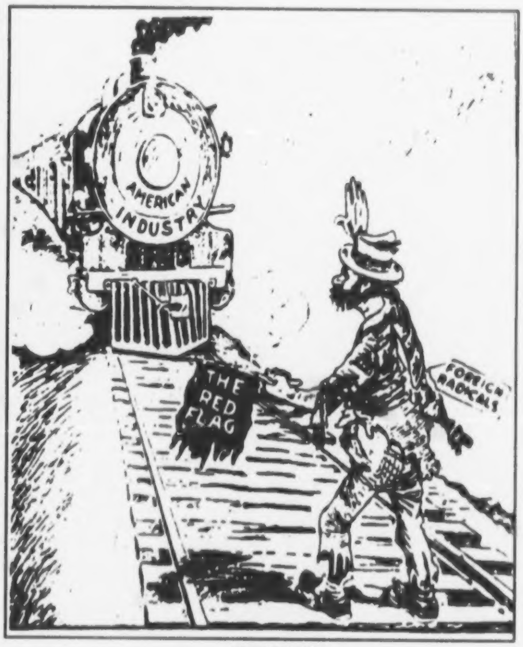

TROUBLE
ANARCHY
AMERICA — THE LAND OF THE

NOW HE WILL HAVE TO ACT
He stood by and placidly watched his country become infected with the germs of the earth.

Kansas State Historical Collection



San Diego Union, May 18, 1912

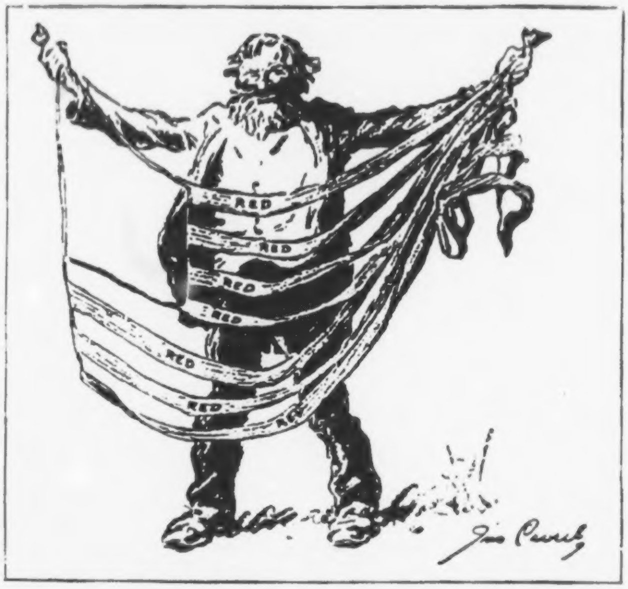


STOP!
Harper, Birmingham Age-Herald

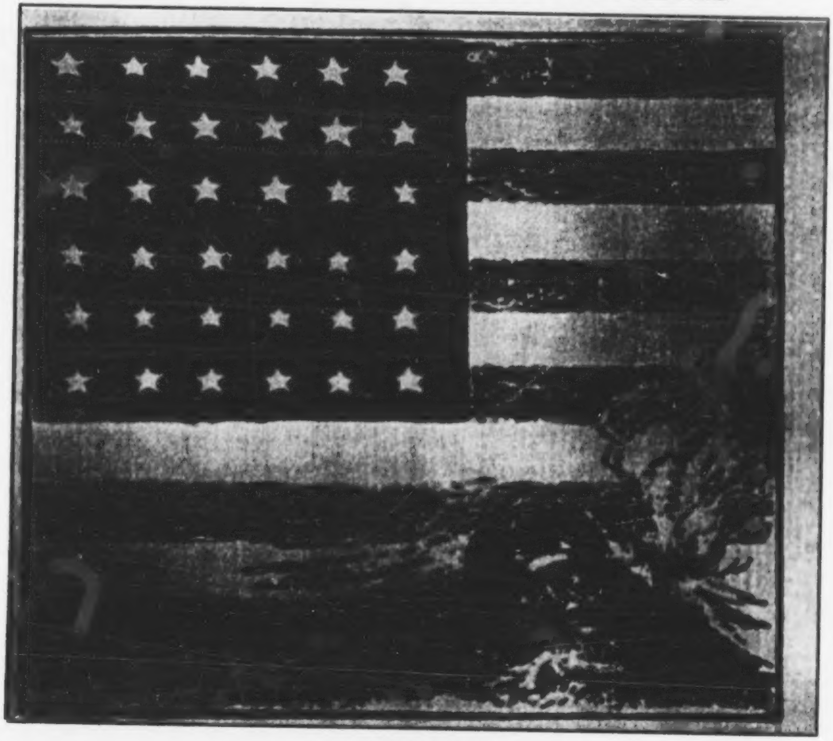
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 9

ALL THEY WANT IS OUR FLAG



Cassel, New York *Evening World*



ANARCHY

The Right to Free Speech (three days)

A. Objectives

1. Explain the importance of dissent in a free society.

2. Evaluate the effects of limitations on free speech in a democratic society.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Distribute copies of Emma Goldman's letter to the anarchist periodical *Lucifer The Light-Bearer* (**Document 10**). Before reading, discuss how the public-at-large might respond to a newspaper bearing this name. Why do you think this name was chosen for the paper? What does the name imply regarding the beliefs of many anarchists? Have students read and discuss Goldman's letter. What happened in Chicago that prompted Goldman to write this letter? What kind of picture of life in Czarist Russia in 1902 does Goldman portray in this article? Why does Goldman make connections between her treatment by U.S. authorities and the suppression of free speech in Czarist Russia? What did Goldman predict as the consequences of continued suppression of free speech in the United States? What actions did she suggest as a remedy to the problems surrounding the issue of free speech?

   Read the guarantees set forth in the First Amendment. Discuss the precise wording of the amendment. Are there limits to free speech? If so, under what circumstances should limitations of free speech be allowed in a democracy? Explain. Review cases of limitations on free speech in U.S. history (e.g. Alien and Sedition Acts of 1789, restrictions on abolitionists in the antebellum period, Civil War restrictions, and the Espionage Act of 1917). Examine Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' decisions in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), and his dissent in *Abrams v. United States* (1919) and *Gitlow v. United States* (1925). What have been some recent cases regarding freedom of speech (including symbolic expression)? Research cases involving flag burning as symbolic speech (*Texas v. Johnson*, 1989, and *United States v. Eichman*, 1990). How might Emma Goldman have responded to the Supreme Court's rulings in recent flag-burning cases? Explain.

2. Make a transparency of Alden Freeman's pamphlet cover, "The Fight for Free Speech" (**Document 11**). Before having the class examine the cover,

set the context by explaining that Emma Goldman, an authority on modern drama, gave a series of lectures in New York on the works of contemporary dramatists. During a presentation entitled "Henrik Ibsen as the Pioneer of Modern Drama," Goldman was repeatedly interrupted by New York authorities sent to insure that her lectures were not subversive. Alden Freeman, a member of the audience, took offense at the constant interruptions and arranged for Goldman to speak in East Orange, New Jersey. Freeman, an affluent member of the community and the son of a prominent Standard Oil Company stockholder, secured a hall but it was ordered closed by police on the evening of the lecture. Freeman simply invited the audience to his mansion where Goldman spoke to the gathering on his lawn.

How might participants in a free speech campaign use this pamphlet? What arguments might free speech advocates use to support the title, "Law-Breaking by the Police"?

Read the *New York Times* article "Goldman Champions Win the East Side" (**Document 12**) printed in Freeman's pamphlet. What is your impression of Alden Freeman? Why would he support Goldman's right to speak in a public forum? Does Freeman fit the image of a "Mayflower descendant"? Why was Goldman perceived by some to be a threat even when she was lecturing on modern drama? What clues do you have that the article is intended to be a humorous account of a meeting of Mayflower descendants and anarchists? What can you discern from this episode about the limits placed on freedom of speech? To what extent did the actions of the New York authorities help to promote Goldman's popularity?

3. Read Emma Goldman's account of the IWW conflict in San Diego, California, in April and her visit to the city in May 1912 (**Document 13**). Because of the length of the document you may wish to arrange for several students to give a dramatic reading aloud for the class. Also consider dividing the reading into distinct sections (e.g., "Vigilante activity in San Diego," "Goldman and Reitman in San Diego," "Goldman leaves San Diego," and "Reitman's abduction") and have students, working in groups, develop a reader's theater script for each section and perform before the class.

   Discuss the events in the Free Speech Movement in San Diego. Describe the events that prompted Goldman and Reitman to venture to San Diego. Summarize the mayor's position regarding Goldman's presence in San Diego. What was Goldman's response? How does Goldman describe Reitman's abduction and treatment at the hands of the mob?

Read the article "Reitman Is On His Way to Angel City" from the *San Diego Evening Tribune* (**Document 14**) and the editorial that appeared in the same issue of the newspaper (**Document 15**). How does Goldman's account of the episode differ from the press accounts? What arguments are used in the editorial to justify the city's response to Goldman? To what extent is the editorial defending the actions of the vigilantes in their treatment of Reitman? How would Goldman respond to the editorial?

Make a transparency of the June 1912 cover of *Mother Earth* (**Document 16**). How was the San Diego incident portrayed on the cover of *Mother Earth*? What symbols are used to make a political point? Make a sketch or draw a political cartoon to reflect your views of the San Diego episode.

4. Birth control, a controversial topic in the early 1900s, was another issue that Emma Goldman championed. Have students read Goldman's letter to the press on birth control (**Document 17**). Why was Goldman's lecture on birth control considered illegal? Why do you believe Goldman began her letter by trying to separate her reputation as an anarchist from her activities on behalf of the birth control movement? What parts of the letter seem to advance anarchist principles? What arguments is Goldman making for free speech on this issue?

5. Review a textbook account of the Selective Service Act of 1917. Goldman, and her longtime friend Alexander Berkman helped organize the No-Conscription League and circulated over 100,000 handbills criticizing the coercion of men into military service. Read the No-Conscription League Manifesto (**Document 18**). According to the manifesto, how does conscription of citizens into the military threaten individual liberty? What arguments could be made to the contrary?

   Although the 1917 act permitted religious conscientious objectors to select noncombatant service in the military, it refused to extend the status to those who belonged to religious sects without a traditional pacifist stance. What does the manifesto say about conscientious objectors? Why is it critical of the government's refusal to extend "C.O." status to men who refuse to serve "on the ground that they are opposed to taking life"?

6. Read John Reed's article "Free Speech" printed in *The Masses*, a radical periodical (**Document 19**). According to John Reed, what steps is the New York Attorney General taking to safeguard free speech? What are the analogies Reed draws regarding unpopular speech? How valid are these analo-

gies? How have other American communities restricted freedom of speech and the press? What arguments could you make for limiting First Amendment rights during wartime? Review JusticeHolmes' opinions as expressed in the Schenck, Abrams, and Gitlow cases of 1919 and 1925.

Write a position paper expressing your views regarding the rights to free speech and indicate if speech, under any circumstance, should be limited. Support your position with evidence drawn from the study of United States history and government.

Emma Goldman
Letter to the Editor, *Lucifer The Light-Bearer*

Emma Goldman's letter to the editor of the anarchist periodical *Lucifer The Light-Bearer* was published on December 11, 1902. The letter expressed Goldman's views regarding curtailment of First Amendment rights.

EDITOR LUCIFER:—For the benefit of those of your readers who still believe that freedom of speech is a reality, and that America is the freest country on earth, permit me to give you a few details of my experience with the Chicago police.

I came to this city to acquaint the American public with the conditions in Russia, and to raise funds for the unfortunate victims of the Russian knout, many of whom have been flogged to death, while others have been sent to long terms of imprisonment, simply because they dared to ask for bread for the suffering Russian peasants.

To my amazement I found two hundred policemen—some of them high officials, at my first meeting; men who came not out of sympathy with the starving Russian people but who were there to take me to the nearest police station should I not meet their own conception of what liberty means.

O Liberty! poor outraged, degraded Liberty. Fallen indeed art thou from thy once lofty height when every petty policeman can soil thy pure form with his foul hands, and trample in the mire of Chicago's streets thy beauteous lineaments.

Since that first meeting the police have followed me from hall to hall, threatening me with arrest if I dared to say anything against the American government. "Say what you please about Russia, but you must not attack OUR institutions," said Captain Campbell to me at a meeting on the West side.

Another little Tzar, Captain Wheeler, went his colleague one better: "I will not have Miss Goldman speak in my district," and prohibited the meeting that was to take place at Aurora Turn Hall, corner of Ashland Ave. and Division street.

Surely there must be something wrong with the American Institutions of today; something terribly black and corrupt, if they cannot stand the light of criticism; if they can thrive only when physical force is used to defend them against the light of free discussion.

This is not the first time that meetings for free discussion have been prohibited here; not the first time speakers have been shadowed from place to place. On previous occasions the Chicago authorities have had to give some excuse for such interference.

They have had to plead either public excitement, to radical utterance on the part of the speaker, or some similar excuse as justification of their acts.

What excuse will they give now?

What excuse will the self-styled Jeffersonian-Democratic mayor of Chicago give for the acts of his subordinates?

There is now no public excitement; no radical utterance made—at least not in reference to "our own sacred government."

What other conclusion can be reached, or inference drawn than that America is fast being Russianized, and that unless the American people awake from the pleasant dream into what they have been lulled by the strains of "My Country 'tis of Thee," etc., we shall soon be obliged to meet in cellars, or darkened back rooms with closed doors, and speak in whispers lest our next door neighbors should hear that free-born American citizens dare not speak in the open; that they have sold the birthright to the Russian Tzar disguised by the coat of an American policeman?

Is it not time that SOMETHING BE DONE?

Is it not time that all advanced people unite in protest against such brutal invasion? all, at least, who have enough Americanism left in them to maintain the right of freedom of speech, of press and of assembly?

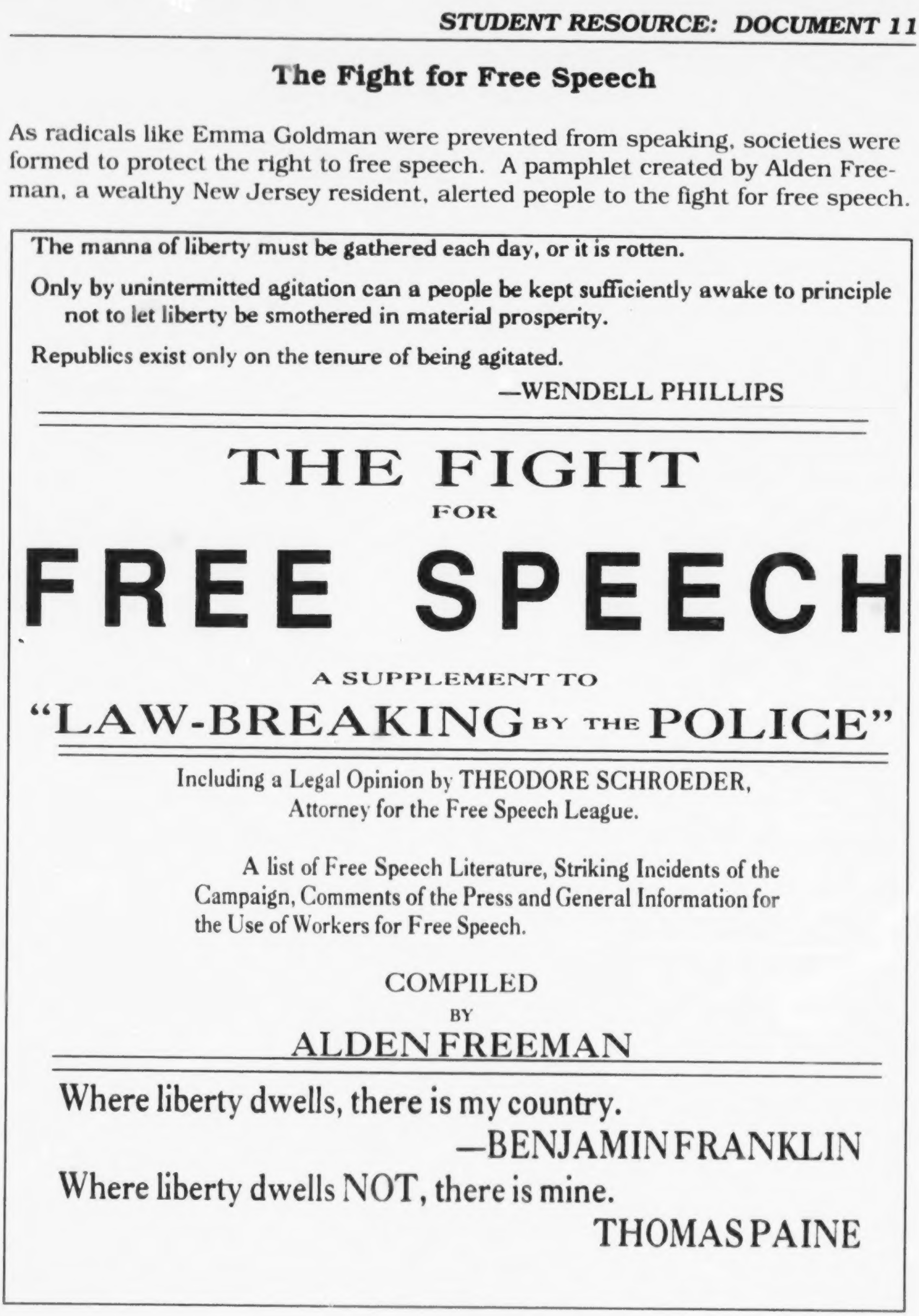
Or, are they going to wait until the number of victims of suppression increase to legions—as in Russia today?

Chicago, Nov. 30, 1902. Emma Goldman.

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 11

The Fight for Free Speech

As radicals like Emma Goldman were prevented from speaking, societies were formed to protect the right to free speech. A pamphlet created by Alden Freeman, a wealthy New Jersey resident, alerted people to the fight for free speech.



The manna of liberty must be gathered each day, or it is rotten.

Only by unintermitted agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered in material prosperity.

Republics exist only on the tenure of being agitated.

—WENDELL PHILLIPS

THE FIGHT
FOR
FREE SPEECH

A SUPPLEMENT TO
"LAW-BREAKING BY THE POLICE"

Including a Legal Opinion by THEODORE SCHROEDER,
Attorney for the Free Speech League.

A list of Free Speech Literature, Striking Incidents of the Campaign, Comments of the Press and General Information for the Use of Workers for Free Speech.

COMPILED
BY
ALDEN FREEMAN

Where liberty dwells, there is my country.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Where liberty dwells NOT, there is mine.

THOMAS PAINE

Goldman Champions Win the East Side

Witty Account by Charles Willis Thompson
New York Times, July 1, 1909

Freeman's pamphlet contains a tongue-in-cheek *New York Times* account of his attempt to hold a meeting where Emma Goldman could speak freely without police restriction.

GOLDMAN CHAMPIONS WIN THE EAST SIDE

Alden Freeman Pleads for Free Speech Before a Cooper Union Audience — Very Orderly "Anarchists"— Leonard Dalton Abbott Opens the Meeting —Miss de Cleyre Talks Vigorously — Mrs. Milton Rathbun Makes a Hit — Emma Goldman Not Present.

[Witty Account by CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON]

Spotless Town has been located. It is in East Orange, N. J. Alden Freeman says so, and he lives there and ought to know.

Alden Freeman is the Mayflower descendant who got rousted (Not yet, not on your life!—A. F.) out of a genealogical society or two for inviting Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, to partake of a few mayflowers in East Orange, N. J., on the occasion of some grand celebration or other. He also wrote a letter to Mayor McClellan complaining that the police had made him ill by chasing him and several hundred other American citizens into the street when they had paid good American money to hear Miss Goldman lecture on that incendiary topic, "The Drama."

Last night the most rigidly law-abiding people in the city of New York—we refer, of course, to the Anarchists—got together in Cooper Union to express their indignation over the action of the police in suppressing Emma Goldman every time she tried to talk, and they let Alden Freeman, a Puritan unto the third and fourth generation, preside over them.

It was a funny crowd, viewed from our New York standpoint. Now, normally, you would suppose that a lot of Anarchists would be the most uncontrollable and lawless outfit you would get together. Actually these Anarchists gave any Presbyterian prayer meeting cards and spades on courtesy and decency. If a man tried to get out of there before the meeting was over he sneaked out; he concealed himself; he tried to avoid observation.

It was entirely different from the average Republican or Democratic massmeeting, where as soon as the star speaker has got through everybody rises and makes a sprint for the doorway. And if anybody tried to applaud at the wrong time he was hissed down.

The fuss was over the fact that some time ago, when Emma Goldman went to Harlem and tried to tell an audience that Ibsen had Hauptmann beaten as a dramatist and that Eugene Walter was the hope of the American stage, a lot of policemen chased her off the stage on the theory that Hauptmann was probably an Anarchist because he was Dutch. This outrage had rankled in the minds of the Anarchists, and they had hired Cooper Union for $75 to show that they didn't like it.

Leonard D. Abbott opened the meeting. He is an editor—runs a magazine, in fact. When he got on the platform he confronted the most earnest crowd that has filled Cooper Union in many a day. At the outset they had a line of policemen stationed around the hall, presumably to arrest Emma Goldman if she should get up and erupt some incendiary sentiment such as "Eugene Walter is a great dramatist"—which is about as far as Emma Goldman goes these days.

But Leonard Abbott announced, "right off the bat," that Miss Goldman wasn't going to speak, and wasn't even going to be there, because she would surely be arrested as soon as she opened her mouth, and the promoters of the meeting didn't care for any police interference.

But Leonard Abbott and everybody else who talked last night rubbed in the fact that Miss Goldman would make a speech at 100 West 116th street on Friday—count it: 100 West—near Lenox avenue—take the Subway—you can't miss it.

Excerpt from a New York Times *article reprinted in Alden Freeman's pamphlet with his parenthetical editorial comments.*

The San Diego Free Speech Incident

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a militant labor union that sought to organize all workers regardless of their level of skill into "One Big Union" to foster workers' control of industries, was prevented from organizing in many cities. Local governments passed ordinances denying IWW leaders the right to speak and to organize in public places. In San Diego in April 1912, the union held a mass public rally to challenge the ordinances. In the first week 150 "Wobblies" (the popular name for members of the IWW) were jailed. Private vigilante groups terrorized IWW members and sympathizers, and drove them out of town. Emma Goldman and her road manager, Ben Reitman, joined the San Diego free speech fight in May.

Excerpt from *Living My Life* by Emma Goldman

(Volume 1, pp. 494-501)

Vigilante activity in San Diego

When I arrived with Ben [Reitman] in Los Angeles in April [1912], San Diego was in the grip of a veritable civil war. The patriots, known as Vigilantes, had converted the city into a battle-field. They beat, clubbed, and killed men and women who still believed in their constitutional rights. Hundreds of them had come to San Diego from every part of the United States to participate in the campaign. They travelled in box cars, on the bumpers, on the roofs of trains, every moment in danger of their lives, yet sustained by the holy quest for freedom of speech, for which their comrades were already filling the jails.

The Vigilantes raided the I.W.W. headquarters, broke up the furniture, and arrested a large number of men found there. They were taken out to Sorrento to a spot where a flag-pole had been erected. There the I.W.W.'s were forced to kneel, kiss the flag, and sing the national anthem. As an incentive to quicker action one of the Vigilantes would slap them on the back, which was the signal for a general beating. After these proceedings the men were loaded into automobiles and sent to San Onofre, near the county line, placed in a cattle-pen with armed guards over them, and kept without food or drink for eighteen hours. The following morning they were taken out in groups of five and compelled to run the gauntlet. As they passed between the double line of Vigilantes, they were belaboured with clubs and blackjacks. Then the flag-kissing episode was repeated, after which they were told to "hike" up the track and never come back. They reached Los Angeles after a tramp of several days, sore, hungry, penniless, and in deplorable physical condition.

IWW Sticker

In this struggle, in which the local police were on the side of the Vigilantes, several I.W.W. men lost their lives. The most brutal murder was that of Joseph Mikolasek, who died on May 7. He was one of the many rebels who had attempted to fill the gap caused by the arrest of their speakers. When he ascended the platform, he was assaulted by the police. With difficulty he dragged himself to the socialist headquarters, and thence home. He was followed by detectives, who attacked him in his house. One officer fired and severely wounded him. In self-defence Mikolasek had picked up an ax, but his body was riddled with bullets before he had a chance to lift it against his assailants.

I go to lecture in San Diego...

On every tour to the Coast I had lectured in San Diego. This time we were also planning meetings there after the close of our Los Angeles engagements. Reports from San Diego and the arrival of scores of wounded Vigilante victims decided us to go at once. Especially after the killing of Mikolasek we felt it imperative to take up the free-speech fight waged there. First, however, it was necessary to organize relief for the destitute boys who had escaped their tormentors and had reached us alive. With the help of a group of women we organized a feeding-station at the I.W.W. headquarters. We raised funds at my meetings and collected clothing and food-stuffs from sympathetic store-keepers.

San Diego was not content with the murder of Mikolasek; it would not permit him even to be buried in the city. We therefore had his body shipped to Los Angeles, and prepared a public demonstration in his honour. Joseph Mikolasek had been obscure and unknown in life, but he grew to country-wide stature in his death. Even the police of the city were impressed by the size, dignity, and grief of the masses that followed his remains to the crematorium.

Some comrades in San Diego had undertaken to arrange a meeting, and I chose a subject which seemed to express the situation best—Henrik Ibsen's An Enemy of the People.

. . . and am warmly greeted on my arrival

On our arrival we found a dense crowd at the station. It did not occur to me that the reception was intended for us; I thought that some State official was being expected. We were to be met by our friends Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Kirk, but they were nowhere to be seen, and Ben suggested that we go to the U.S. Grant Hotel. We passed unobserved and got into the hotel autobus. It was hot and stuffy inside and we climbed up on top. We had barely taken our seats when someone shouted: "Here she is, here's the Goldman woman!" At once the cry was taken up by the crowd. Fashionably dressed women stood up in their cars screaming: "We want that anarchist murderess!" In an instant there was a rush for the autobus, hands reaching up to pull me down. With unusual presence of mind, the chauffeur started the car at full speed, scattering the crowd in all directions.

At the hotel we met with no objections. We registered and were shown to our rooms. Everything seemed normal. Mr. and Mrs. Kirk called to see us, and we quietly discussed final arrangements for our meeting. In the afternoon the head clerk came to announce that the Vigilantes had insisted on looking over the hotel register to secure the number of our rooms; he would therefore have to transfer us to another part of the house. We were taken on the top floor and assigned to a large suite. Later on, Mr. Holmes, the hotel manager, paid us a visit. We were perfectly safe under his roof, he assured us, but he could not permit us to go down for our meals or leave our rooms. He would have to keep us locked in. I protested that the U.S. Grant Hotel was not a prison. He replied that he could not keep us incarcerated against our will, but that, as long as we remained the guests of the house, we should have to submit to his arrangement for our safety. "The Vigilantes are in an ugly mood," he warned us; "they are determined not to let you speak and to drive you both out of town." He urged us to leave of our own account and volunteered to escort us. He was a kindly man and we appreciated his offer, but we had to refuse it.

Mr. Holmes had barely left when I was called on the telephone. The speaker said that his name was Edwards, that he was at the head of the local Conservatory of Music, and that he had just read in the papers that our hall-keeper had backed out. He offered us the recital hall of the conservatory. "San Diego still seems to have some brave men," I said to the mysterious person at the other end of the telephone, and I invited him to come to see me to talk over his plan. Before long a fine-looking man of about twenty-seven called. In the course of our conversation I pointed out to him that I might cause him trouble by speaking in his place. He replied that he did not mind; he was an anarchist in art and he believed in free speech. If I were willing to take a chance, so was he. We decided to await developments.

Towards evening a bedlam of auto horns and whistles filled the street. "The Vigilantes!" Ben cried. There was a knock at the door, and Mr. Holmes came in, accompanied by two other men. I was wanted downstairs by the city authorities, they informed me. Ben sensed danger and insisted that I ask them to send the visitors up. It seemed timid to me. It was early evening and we were in the principal hotel of the city. What could happen to us? I went with Mr. Holmes, Ben accompanying us. Downstairs we were ushered into a room where we found seven men standing in a semicircle. We were asked to sit down and wait for the Chief of Police, who arrived before long. "Please come with me," he addressed me; "the Mayor and other officials are awaiting you next door." We got up to follow, but, turning to Ben, the Chief said: "You are not wanted, doctor. Better wait here."

I entered a room filled with men. The window-blinds were partly drawn, but the large electric street light in front disclosed an agitated mass below. The Mayor approached me. "You hear that mob," he said, indicating the street; "they mean business. They want to get you and Reitman out of the hotel, even if they have to take you by force. We cannot guarantee anything. If you consent to leave, we will give you protection and get you safely out of town."

"That's very nice of you," I replied, "but why don't you disperse the crowd? Why don't you use the same measures against these people that you have against the free-speech fighters? Your ordinance makes it a crime to gather in the business districts. Hundreds of I.W.W.'s, anarchists, socialists, and trade-union men have been clubbed and arrested, and some even killed, for this offence. Yet you allow the Vigilante mob to congregate in the busiest part of the town and obstruct traffic. All you have to do is to disperse these law-breakers."

"We can't do it," he said abruptly; "These people are in a dangerous mood, and your presence makes things worse."

"Very well, then, let me speak to the crowd," I suggested. "I could do it from a window here. I have faced infuriated men before and I have always been able to pacify them."

The Mayor refused.

"I have never accepted protection from the police," I then said, "and I do not intend to do so now. I charge all of you men here with being in league with the Vigilantes."

Thereupon the officials declared that matters would have to take their course, and that I should have only myself to blame if anything happened.

Ben is abducted

The interview at an end, I went to call Ben. The room I had left him in was locked. I became alarmed and pounded on the door. There was no answer. The noise I made brought a hotel clerk. He unlocked the door, but no one was there. I ran back to the other room and met the Chief, who was just coming out.

"Where is Reitman?" I demanded. "What have you done with him? If any harm comes to him, you will pay for it if I have to do it with my own hands."

"How should I know?" he replied gruffly. Mr. Holmes was not in his office, and no one would tell me what had become of Ben Reitman. In consternation I returned to my room. Ben did not appear. In dismay I paced the floor, unable to decide what steps to take or whom to approach to help me find Ben. I could not call any person I knew in the city without endangering his safety, least of all Mr. Kirk; he was already under indictment in connexion with the free-speech fight. It had been brave of him and his wife to meet us; it was sure to aggravate his situation. The circumstance that the Kirks did not return as they had promised proved that they were being kept away.

I felt helpless. Time dragged on, and at midnight I dozed off from sheer fatigue. I dreamed of Ben, bound and gagged, his hands groping for me. I struggled to reach him and woke up with a scream, bathed in sweat. There were voices and loud knocking at my door. When I opened, the house detective and another man stepped in. Reitman was safe, they told me. I looked at them in a daze, hardly grasping their meaning. Ben had been taken out by the Vigilantes, they explained, but no harm had come to him. They had only put him on a train for Los Angeles. I did not believe the detective, but the other man looked honest. He reiterated that he had been given absolute assurance that Reitman was safe.

Mr. Holmes came in. He corroborated the man and begged me to consent to leave. There was no object in my remaining any longer in town, he urged. I would not be allowed to lecture and I was only endangering his own position. He hoped I would not take undue advantage because I was a woman. If I remained, the Vigilantes would drive me out of town anyhow.

Mr. Holmes seemed genuinely concerned. I knew there was no chance of holding a meeting. Now that Ben was safe, there was no sense in harassing Mr. Holmes any further. I consented to leave, planning to take the Owl, the 2:45 A.M train, for Los Angeles. I called for a taxi and drove to the station. The town was asleep, the streets deserted.

I had just purchased my ticket and was walking towards the Pullman car when I caught the sound of approaching autos—the fearful sound I had first heard at the station and later at the hotel. The Vigilantes, of course.

"Hurry, hurry!" someone cried; "get in quick!"

Before I had time to make another step, I was picked up, carried to the train, and literally thrown into the compartment. The blinds were pulled down and I was locked in. The Vigilantes had arrived and were rushing up and down the platform, shouting and trying to board the train. The crew was on guard, refusing to let them on. There was mad yelling and cursing—hideous and terrifying moments till at last the train pulled out.

We stopped at innumerable stations. Each time I peered out eagerly in the hope that Ben might be waiting to join me. But there was no sign of him. When I reached my apartment in Los Angeles, he was not there. The U.S. Grant Hotel men had lied in order to get me out of town! . . .

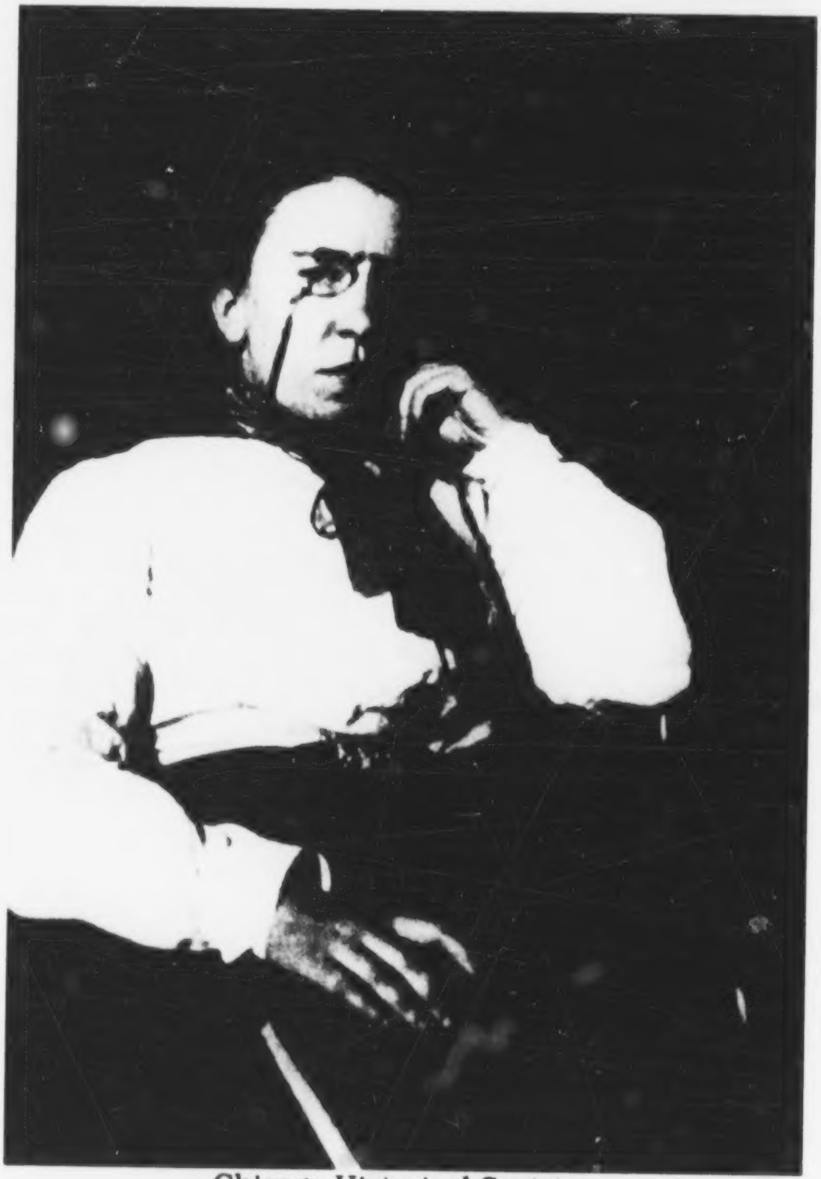
At ten o'clock I was called on the long-distance phone. A strange voice informed me that Dr. Reitman was boarding the train for Los Angeles and that he would arrive in the late afternoon. "His friends should bring a stretcher to the station." "Is he alive?" I shouted into the receiver. "Are you telling the truth? Is he alive?" I listened breathlessly, but there was no response.

The hours dragged on as if the day would never pass. The wait at the station was more excruciating still. At last the train pulled in. Ben lay in a rear car, all huddled up. He was in blue overalls, his face deathly pale, a terrified look in his eyes. His hat was gone, and his hair was sticky with tar. At the sight of me he cried: "Oh, Mommy, I'm with you at last! Take me away, take me home!"

The newspaper men besieged him with questions, but he was too exhausted to speak. I begged them to leave him alone and to call later at my apartment. While helping him to undress, I was horrified to see that his body was a mass of bruises covered with blotches of tar. The letters I.W.W. were burned into his flesh. Ben could not speak; only his eyes tried to convey what he had passed through. After partaking of some nourishment and sleeping several hours, he regained a little strength. In the presence of a number of friends and reporters he told us what had happened to him.

Ben relates details of his torture

"When Emma and the hotel manager left the office to go into another room," Ben related, "I remained alone with seven men. As soon as the door was closed, they drew out revolvers. 'If you utter a sound or make a move, we'll kill you,' they threatened. Then they gathered around me. One man grabbed my right arm, another the left; a third took hold of the front of my coat, another of the back, and I was led out into the corridor, down the elevator to the ground floor of the hotel, and out into the street past a uniformed policeman, and then thrown into an automobile. When the mob saw me, they set up a howl. The auto went slowly down the main street and was joined by another one containing several persons who looked like business men. This was about half past ten in the evening. The twenty-mile ride was frightful. As soon as we got out of town, they began kicking and beating me. They took turns at pulling my long hair and they stuck their fingers into my eyes and nose. "We could tear your guts out," they said, "but we promised the Chief of Police not to kill you. We are responsible men, property-owners, and the police are on our side." When we reached the county line, the auto stopped at a deserted spot. The men formed a ring and told me to undress. They tore my clothes off. They knocked me down, and when I lay naked on the ground, they kicked and beat me until I was almost insensible. With a lighted cigar they burned the letters I.W.W. on my buttocks; then they poured a can of tar over my head and, in the absence of feathers, rubbed sage-brush on my body. One of them attempted to push a cane into my rectum. Another twisted my testicles. They forced me to kiss the flag and sing The Star Spangled Banner. When they tired of the fun, they gave me my underwear for fear we should meet any women. They also gave me back my vest, in order that I might carry my money, railroad ticket, and watch. The rest of my clothes they kept. I was ordered to make a speech, and then they commanded me to run the gauntlet. The Vigilantes lined up, and as I ran past them, each one gave me a blow or a kick. Then they let me go."



Chicago Historical Society

Reitman Is On His Way to Angel City

The following article appeared on the front page of the San Diego *Evening Tribune* on May 15, 1912.

THE EVENING TRIBUNE
CITY OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER
Only Evening Newspaper in San Diego With Associated Press Dispatches

FOURTEEN PAGES SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1912 FOURTEEN PAGES

REITMAN IS ON HIS WAY TO ANGEL CITY

Special to The Evening Tribune:
Escondido, May 15.—Ben L. Reitman, his tarred and feathered body covered by cheap denim overalls and blouse, made his appearance on the streets here shortly before 2 o'clock this afternoon, walked to the depot and at 2:35 o'clock this afternoon will leave for the north, presumably for Los Angeles.

Reitman admits having been tarred and feathered and the letters "I.W.W." burned across a part of his anatomy. He says the punishment was inflicted on him by a crowd of fourteen persons, about nine miles north of San Diego last night. He walked from there to Barnardo and bought clothes to cover his almost naked person.

A blotch of tar across his right cheek is the only outward sign he shows of his experience.

"They took me out before a crowd of 1000 persons," said Reitman. "No effort was made to save me; I was powerless to protect myself; I want to get away; I have had enough."

Reitman, it was learned, was given his money and railroad ticket by the members of the committee who had him in charge. It was with this money that Reitman purchased clothing and food at Escondido this morning.

Developments followed quickly, one upon the other, after the arrival of Emma Goldman and Ben L. Reitman in San Diego yesterday afternoon. For the first hour after they were safe from the threats of the mob which had gathered outside the U.S. Grant hotel the woman anarchist and her manager had resolved that they would try to speak last night. Then their attitude changed, they gave up their plans and from that time until they finally got out of the city their sole efforts were for their personal safety.

Reitman, found in hiding in room 667 of the U.S. Grant hotel was taken in charge by a special committee of citizens at 10:30 last night, taken in the kitchen elevator to the basement of the hotel and carried bodily to an automobile in waiting and taken 25 miles north of San Diego. An hour after his departure from the hotel it is reported he had been given a coat of crude petroleum, mixed with a liberal supply of feathers, while across his back, with the aid of a lighted cigar, the letters "I.W.W." were burned . From that place Reitman made his way to Escondido. He is scheduled it is said, to leave Oceanside for Los Angeles this afternoon.

This work was accomplished so quickly and so quietly that none of the waiting mob outside seemed to know what had transpired. Four men, it is said, were seen coming out of the basement of the U.S. Grant hotel on the Third street side. The half struggling form of a fifth person was seen but just for a moment. The five piled into an automobile in waiting an in less than a minute the car was speeding north along Third street.

On good authority it is said that Reitman was not offered immunity or safe escort to the train; the committee, it is said, simply told Reitman to get ready to go.

"I am not afraid to die; I can die only once," Reitman is reported to have said. Then he asked permission to get his hat and cane. An open grip showing an automatic revolver lay on the bed.

"Make a false move and you are a dead man," one of the committee is reported to have said to the trembling anarchist. Reitman was then taken as quietly as possible to the kitchen elevator, so it is reported, and it did not require much time to get him started on his way north.

While this was in progress Superintendent John L. Sehon, Chief of Police Wilson and City Prosecutor Glidden were holding a consultations with Emma Goldman in room 665. The woman was told that the city would insure her every police protection required for her safe departure from the city, all they asked was that she make the request for aid.

It was after 11 o'clock when the conference came to an end and the woman became alarmed for her manager. A hasty telephone message to his room revealed the fact that he was missing.

"He had been kidnapped," almost screamed Mrs. Goldman and from that time until after 2 o'clock this morning she attempted to learn what had become of Reitman. Shortly before the departure ... for Los Angeles Mrs. Goldman was taken to the Santa Fe depot, hurried aboard a Pullman car and seemed to welcome the protection of a strong cordon of police offered her. Soon after a crowd of several hundred persons gathered at the depot and until the departure of the train for the north jeered at the noted priestess of anarchy.

For the first time in her long career the woman who had derided law and government was plainly frightened last night. She admitted that when the angered citizens of the United States were clamoring for her life following the assassination of President McKinley she felt uneasy, that the Haymarket riots in Chicago caused her some uneasiness, but never in nearly 30 years of active anarchistic work had she found a people so thoroughly untied and so completely aroused as were the citizens of San Diego yesterday afternoon and last night. That the woman did not meet the same fate as that accorded Reitman is due to her sex, it is said . . .

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 15

San Diego's Position on Emma Goldman's Right to Free Speech

The city's position as to reasons for denying Emma Goldman the right to speak in San Diego was the subject of an editorial printed in the *San Diego Evening Tribune,* May 15, 1912.

THE
EVENING TRIBUNE
CITY OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER
Only Evening Newspaper in San Diego With Associated Press Dispatches
FOURTEEN PAGES SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1912 FOURTEEN PAGES

WHY EMMA GOLDMAN WAS NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK IN SAN DIEGO

Emma Goldman was warned to keep away from San Diego. The warning was conveyed to her by the chief of police. It was explained that public sentiment in this community was not in the mood to listen to anything she might say, and that in the interests of peace and good order the authorities of this city desired her to postpone her visit. The request was treated with contempt. Miss Goldman insisted upon coming to San Diego. After her arrival, when she learned from personal observation that what the chief of police had told her was true, she half apologized for her presence by saying that she merely wished to investigate the conditions for herself so that she might write intelligently upon them. She denied emphatically that it was her intention to speak on behalf of the I.W.W.'s or take any part whatever in "the free speech fight."

It is probable that Miss Goldman was largely influenced by the advice of her "business manager," Ben R. Reitman, who is a shrewd fellow for the box office department of the Goldman lecture bureau—a mercenary person always with both eyes upon the main chance. Reitman unquestionably counted upon "standing room only" at fifty cents a head, and appraised the prejudice of the San Diego public as so much "good advertising." "Dr." Reitman has learned another lesson in the gentle art of the press agent.

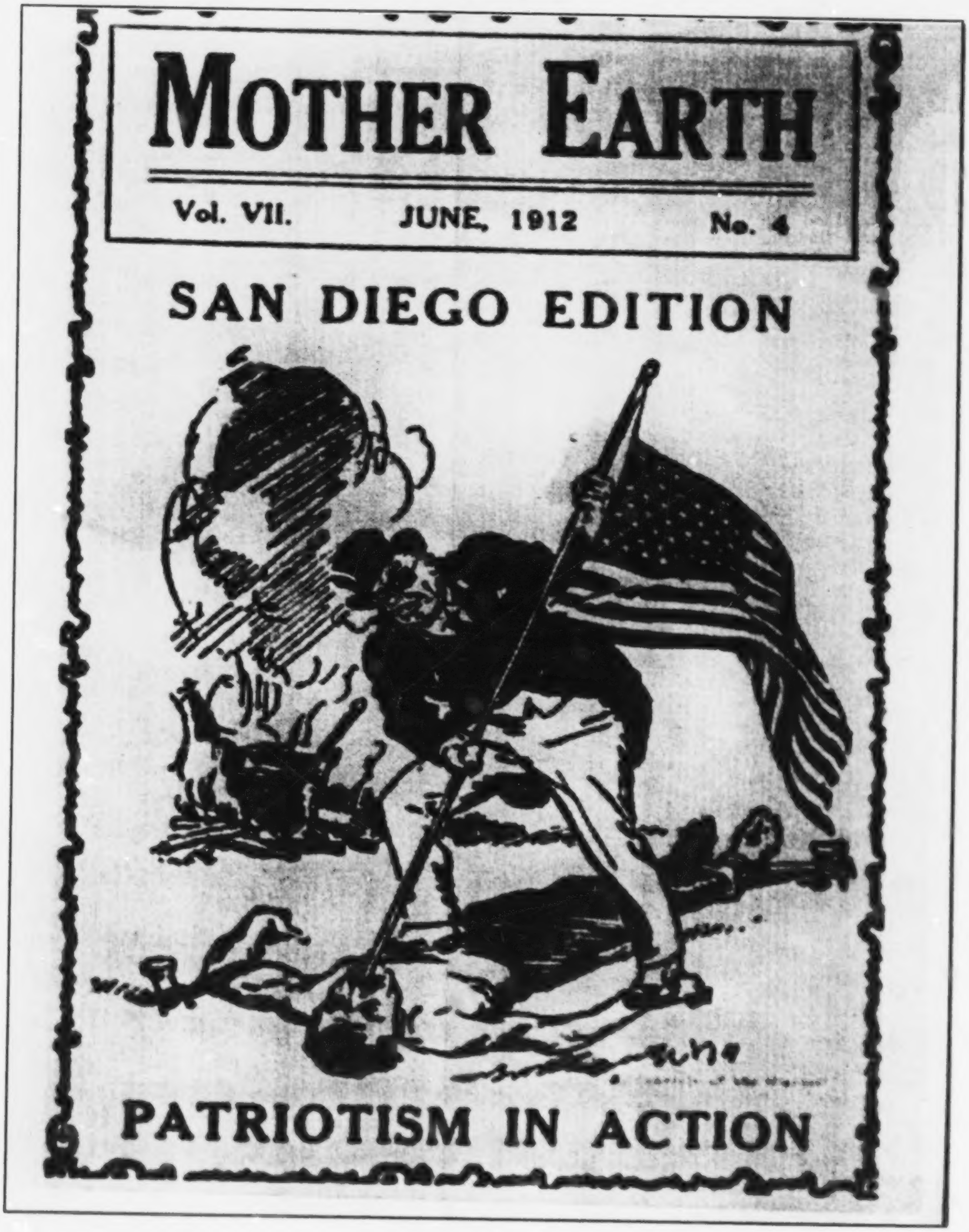
Ordinarily, Emma Goldman would have been permitted to air her "advanced opinions" in San Diego. She has shrilled her vicious "philosophy" in this city on other occasions without disturbing anybody's peace. But this time she came hot-tongued from a funeral oration over the corpse of an anarchist who had been killed in this city while attempting to assassinate an officer of the law. She came in an attitude of defiance towards the citizens of San Diego already wrought to a high pitch of indignation by the lawless acts of a gang of seditious anarchists, most of them foreigners like herself, all of them avowed enemies of this government, its constitution and the flag.

In these circumstances it was impossible that the presence of this woman should be tolerated in San Diego. And the result has shown that the warning of the chief of police was justified.

If Emma Goldman had been allowed to speak in San Diego on any subject, however innocuous, however "philosophical," however mildly anarchistic, others of her cult would have been encouraged to follow her, preaching doctrines that are absolutely distasteful to the citizens of this city. It is more than probable that even William D. Haywood, the chief of the I.W.W.'s, would have hastened to San Diego to reorganize the scattered and discomfited battalions of his tatterdemalion tripe-visaged crew. Now there is no likelihood that Haywood will trouble San Diego and it is equally certain that we have seen the last of Emma Goldman and her dollar-chasing "business manager," the saturnine "Dr." Ben Reitman.

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 16

Mother Earth
San Diego Edition
June 1912



MOTHER EARTH

Vol. VII. JUNE, 1912 No. 4

SAN DIEGO EDITION

PATRIOTISM IN ACTION

An early advocate of birth control, Goldman addressed large audiences on the subject. Because dissemination of birth control information was forbidden by the Comstock Law, which deemed birth control information obscene material and excluded it from the mails, anyone who chose to speak out on the subject risked arrest, imprisonment, and fines. A few days after her arrest in New York City on February 11, 1916, Goldman wrote a letter to the press stating her position.

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NEW YORK

ANARCHISM
The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestriced by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

My dear Sir:

In view of the fact that the Birth Control question is now dominant before the American public, I hope that you will not permit your prejudice against anarchism and myself as its exponent to refuse me fair play. I have lived and worked in New York City for twenty-five years. On more than one occasion I have been misrepresented in the press and anarchism has been made to appear hideous and ridiculous. I am not complaining; I am merely stating a fact which you, I am sure, know as well as I.

But now the question involved in my arrest which took place Friday, February 11th and which is to be heard Monday, February 28th is birth control, a world wide movement sponsored and supported by the greatest men and women through Europe and America, such as Prof. August Forel, Havelock Ellis, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Dr. Drysdale in Europe and in America by Prof. Jacobi, Dr. Robinson and many others. A movement which has originated in minds of people who were both scientific and humanitarian, and which at the present time is backed by science, sociology and economic necessity. Certainly you will not refuse me a hearing in behalf of such an issue.

I have lectured on birth control for years; many times in New York and other cities, before representative audiences. At almost every meeting plain clothes men were present taking copious notes. It was therefore no secret that I am sponsoring birth control and the necessity of imparting knowledge on this most vital question.

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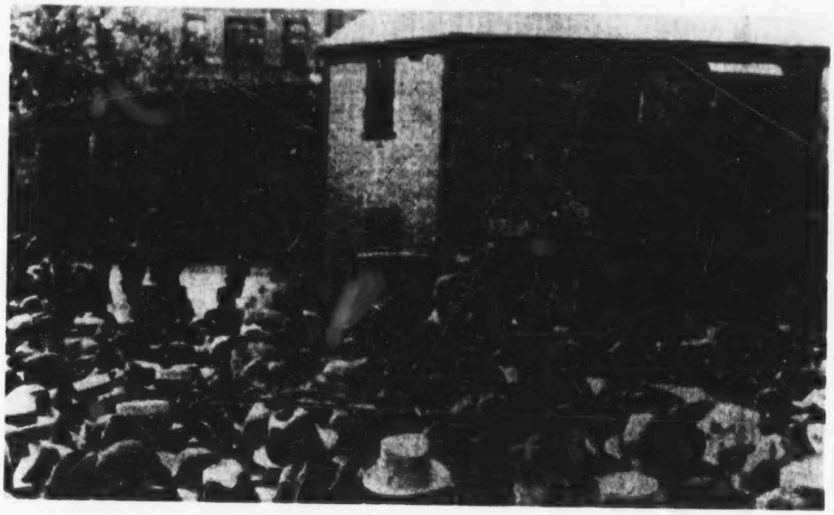
STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 17

Friday, February 4th, I again delivered this lecture in Forward Hall, New York, when three thousand people attempted to crowd the place. As a result of this popular clamor for knowledge on birth control, another meeting was arranged for Tuesday, February 8th at the New Star Casino. Again an eager throng attended. The meeting was orderly and everything went off as peacefully and intelligently as on all other occasions when I lecture if not interfered with by the police. Then on Friday, February 11th, just as I was about to enter the Forward Hall to deliver a lecture on Atheism, a subject which has no bearing at all upon birth control, I was arrested, taken to a filthy station house, then hustled into a patrol wagon, rushed to the Clinton Street jail, there searched in the most vulgar manner by a course looking matron in the presence of two detectives, a thing which would outrage the most hardened criminal. Then I was locked up in a cell until my bondsman released me on five hundred dollars bail.

Now all this was unnecessary in as much as I am too well known in the country to run away. Besides, one who has stood the brunt for an ideal for twenty-five years is not likely to run away. A summons would have been enough. But because I happen to be Emma Goldman and the exponent of Anarchism, the whole brutality of the New York police had to be employed in dealing with me, which only goes to prove that everything else in society advances except the Police Department. I confess I was credulous enough to believe that some change had taken place since my last arrest in New York City, which was in 1906, but I discovered my mistake.



Goldman is pictured speaking from a car in Union Square, New York, on May 20, 1916, to protest Ben Reitman's arrest for advoating birth control.

However, this is not vital, but what is of importance and that which I hope you will place before your readers is the fact that the methods of persecution on the part of the reactionary element in New York City in relation to any modern idea pertaining to birth control have evidently not ended with the death of Anthony Comstock. His successor, wanting to ingratiate himself, is leaving nothing undone to make any intelligent discussion of that vital subject possible. Unfortunately, he and the police are evidently not aware that birth control has reached such dimensions that no amount of persecution and petty chicanery can halt its sweep.

It is hardly necessary to point out that whatever may be the law on birth control, those like myself who are disseminating knowledge along that line are not doing so because of personal gain or because we consider it lewd or obscene. We do it because we know the desparate condition among the masses of workers and even professional people, when they cannot meet the demands of numerous children. It is upon that ground that I mean to make my fight when I go into court. Unless I am very much mistaken, I am sustained in my contention by the fundamental principles in America, namely, that when a law has outgrown time and necessity, it must go and the only way to get rid of the law, is to awaken the public to the fact that it has outlived its purposes and that is precisely what I have been doing and mean to do in the future.

I am planning a campaign of publicity through a large meeting in Carnegie Hall and through every other channel that will reach the intelligent American public to the fact that while I am not particularly anxious to go to jail, I should yet be glad to do so, if thereby I can add my might to the importance of birth control and the wiping off our antiquated law upon the statute.

Hoping that you will not refuse to acquaint your readers with the facts set forth here,

Sincerely yours,

[Emma Goldman]

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No-Conscription League Manifesto, 1917

President Woodrow Wilson initiated a program of military preparedness despite his intent to keep the United States out of World War I. He held that preparedness was the best insurance that the U.S. could have to avoid war. Goldman, on the other hand, saw preparedness as the inevitable road to war. Once the United States entered World War I in April 1917, President Wilson signed a Draft Bill setting June 4th as Registration Day for men aged twenty-one to thirty-one. Emma Goldman and her colleague Alexander Berkman helped organize the No-Conscription League, which held a series of antiwar rallies to discourage young men from registering for the draft. The following manifesto was circulated to over 100,000 people. On June 15, 1917, Goldman and Berkman were arrested and charged with conspiracy to obstruct the draft. After they were found guilty, the judge sentenced them to two years in prison and recommended their deportation once they had served their sentence.

NO CONSCRIPTION!

CONSCRIPTION has now become a fact in this country. It took England fully 18 months after she engaged in the war to impose compulsory military service on her people. It was left for "free" America to pass a conscription bill six weeks after she declared war against Germany.

What becomes of the patriotic boast of America to have entered the European war in behalf of the principle of democracy? But that is not all. Every country in Europe has recognized the right of conscientious objectors--of men who refuse to engage in war on the ground that they are opposed to taking life. Yet this democratic country makes no such provision for those who will not commit murder at the behest of the war profiteers. Thus the "land of the free and the homeof the brave" is ready to coerce free men into the military yoke.

No one to whom the fundamental principle of liberty and justice is more than an idle phrase, can help realize that the patriotic clap-trap now shouted by press, pulpit and the authorities, betrays a desperate effort of the ruling class in this country to throw sand in the eyes of the masses and to blind them to the real issue confronting them. That issue is the Prussianizing of America so as to destroy whatever few liberties the people have achieved through an incessant struggle of many years.

Already all labor protective laws have been abrogated, which means that while husbands, fathers and sons are butchered on the battlefield, the women and children will be exploited in our industrial bastiles to the heart's content of the American patriots for gain and power.

Freedom of speech, of press and assembly is about to be thrown upon the dungheap of political guarantees. But crime of all crimes, the flower of the country is to be forced into murder whether or not they believe in war or in the efficacy of saving democracy in Europe by the destruction of democracy at home.

Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No man may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and individual liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty-loving man and woman to insist on his or her right of individual choice in the ordering of his life and actions.

The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE has been formed for the purpose of encouraging conscientious objectors to affirm their liberty of conscience and to make their objection to human slaughter effective by refusing to participate in the killing of their fellow men. The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE is to be the voice of protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war. Our platform may be summarized as follows:

> We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, anti-militarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments. We will fight for what we choose to fight for; we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.
>
> We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its anti-social and anti-libertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war.
>
> We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties in our way. But we have resolved to go ahead and spare no effort to make the voice of protest a moral force in the life of this country. The initial efforts of the conscientious objectors in England were fraught with many hardships and danger, but finally the government of Great Britain was forced to give heed to the steadily increasing volume of public protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors. So we, too, in America, will doubtless meet the full severity of the government and the condemnation of the war-mad jingoes, but we are nevertheless determined to go head. We feel confident in arousing thousands of people who are conscientious objectors to the murder of their fellowmen and to whom a principle represents the most vital thing in life.

Resist conscription. Organize meetings. Join our League. Send us money. Help us to give assistance to those who come in conflict with the government. Help us to publish literature against militarism and against conscription.

NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

20 East 125th St., New York.

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Free Speech

John Reed, an American journalist, served as a reporter during World War I and was in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) when the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917. Reed helped to organize the Communist Labor Party in the United States in 1919. The following article on free speech was published in the July 1917 issue of *The Masses*, a radical periodical.

Free Speech

The week war broke, the New York Grand Jury made certain recommendations to District Attorney Swann, with the purpose, it is said, "of safeguarding free speech." These consisted in forbidding pacifists and anti-conscriptionists to speak on the street. It was immediately done.

Now this interpretation of "free speech" is, I believe, peculiar to the United States, where there is normally less actual free speech than perhaps in any civilized country one can name off-hand. I think the reason is, that we have never had a class rebellion. And so "free speech" has come to mean with us something with which the majority does not altogether agree, but which offends nobody much, and is listened to by very few—like a Democratic rally in a Republican town, or a Methodist missionary in a Baptist settlement, or a Socialist, say, in Wall Street. If it happens to offend any powerful influence, or threaten it, the speech is promptly suppressed on the ground that "this is license, not liberty"—or that it "incites to riot," or "corrupts public morals."

We have a provision of the Federal Constitution, as well as a great body of laws, calculated to protect the right of free speech in this country. Yet these are violated by the authorities daily, both the police and the Federal Post-Office. It is only an instance of the contempt for law which is constantly shown by the strong toward the weak in America, and which must inevitably breed lawlessness in the people.

I am thinking now of the latest outrages—the arrest of Hippolyte Havel and Theodore Appel in Chicago, charged with "being Anarchists"; the Italian paper *L'Era Nuova*, of Paterson, N. J., has been suppressed without any reason given; *Golos Truda*, the Russian-American weekly, has been held up by the Post Office because—well, just because; pacifists and anti-militarists like Jaeger, Kerr, Shiloh, and Miss Emma Hopkins have been thrown into jail. Moreover, there is the indictment of the editors of *Pearson's Magazine*, under the so-called "obscenity" statute, by John S. Sumner of the Society for the Prevention of Vice—the only private organization in the world endowed with public powers of censorship!

Now these stupid and oppressive people must learn that "free speech" must be free even if unpleasant. They must learn, if they do not want to be taught by bloody rebellion, that the thought and feeling of mankind will and shall be expressed.
JOHN REED

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Deportation (1 day)

A. Objectives

1. Evaluate the reasons underlying deportation during the "Red Scare."
2. Explain how the Red Scare affected popular perceptions of U.S. immigration policy.
3. Analyze political cartoons to determine the cartoonist's meaning and evaluate their effectiveness in marshaling public opinion.
4. Assess the efficacy of the government's deportation policy.

B. Lesson Activities

1. In the context of the Red Scare, examine attitudes towards immigrants and an open immigration policy. Distribute copies of the New York *Tribune* article, "Anarchists Likely to Be Put on Ship Bound for Russia" (**Document 20**). Have students, in their own words, summarize the article. What is Harry Weinberger's strategy in his defense of Goldman and Berkman? What issues is the attorney raising? What is the government's response? What are Representative Isaac Siegel's concerns about the spread of radical ideas? What attitudes about Russian immigrants does this article reveal? Based on this article, how would you characterize the political climate in the United States in 1919? Examine text accounts of the Red Scare to determine what other means the government took to "stem the tide of Bolshevism."
2. Use the four political cartoons in **Document 21** to focus student discussion on deportation. What do these cartoons have in common? How is U.S. government policy portrayed? How are radicals portrayed? Suggest some adjectives that describe the emotions elicited in these cartoons. Select one of the four cartoons and write a letter to the editor of one of the newspapers responding to the cartoon.
3. Distribute copies of Emma Goldman's recollections of her arrival in the United States in 1886 and at the time of her deportation in 1919 (**Document 22**). What thoughts about the United States did Goldman express on the day she arrived? Compare her thoughts as the ship passed the Statue of Liberty in 1886 and 1919.

4. Have students assume the role of Emma Goldman and write a reflective essay on her goals, trials, and accomplishments during her 33 years in the United States.

5. Read Goldman's account of her meeting with Vladimir Lenin in 1920 (**Document 23**). Why was an interview with Lenin important for Goldman? What did she expect to work out with the Soviet government? Why do you think Lenin granted Goldman the interview? What views did Lenin express regarding free speech?

6. Conclude the unit by having students write an addendum to their reflective essay on Goldman in the United States. The "Afterword," written from Goldman's perspective, should describe her attitudes toward Lenin and her perception of the Bolshevik Revolution following her 1920 interview with the Soviet leader.

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 20

Anarchists Likely To Be Put on Ship Bound for Russia

New York Tribune, December 5, 1919

The Red Scare was a time when the federal government vehemently cracked down on the activities of radicals. Based on the recommendations of federal commissions and investigative committees, Congress tried to restrict the entry of immigrants who held radical ideas. To rid itself of radicals already living in the United States, the government also deported those who lived in the United States but were not citizens.

Miss Goldman And Berkman Face Surprise

Anarchists Likely to Be Put on Ship Bound for Russia as They Start for Ellis Island To-day

Seek Habeas Corpus Writ

Books Teaching Anarchy Found in Harlem Public Library, Says Siegel

The little tug which plies between the Battery and Ellis Island will leave its wharf at the foot of Broadway promptly at 11o'clock this morning, carrying Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, anarchists, on the first lap of their long journey to Russia. According to Federal officials, it will be the last time Miss Goldman and Berkman will set foot on the mainland of the United States, where for years they have preached anarchist propaganda.

Intimations that a surprise is in store for the anarchists when they arrive at the island were made yesterday by Byron H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner of Immigration.

"I understand the government has something up its sleeve, but I don't know just what it is," he said.Other officials declared they believed the order deporting Miss Goldman and Berkman calls for their immediate transfer to a ship bound for Russia.

Destination in Question

Differences of opinion have arisen between Mr. Uhl and Harry Weinberger, counsel for the anarchists, relative to what part of Russia the two aliens are to be sent. Mr. Weinberger disclosed a telegram from Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner of Immigration, stating that Miss Goldman and Berkman would be sent to Soviet Union.

"I have been promised by more than one government official that they will be delivered to Bolshevik officials," said Mr. Weinberger. "It would mean their murder to deliver them into the hands of anti-Bolshevik forces."

Mr. Uhl contended the anarchists cannot be sent to Soviet Russia because this government has not recognized the Soviet government. "The law provides for deportation to the countries from whence the aliens came," he said. "They can be deported regardless of changes of government."

Mr. Weinberger said he still had hopes of obtaining writs of habeas corpus, which would act as a stay against the deportation. He said he would contend that Miss Goldman is an American citizen through marriage. Berkman's defense is he has ceased to be an anarchist.

Anarchistic Teachings Found in Library

Representative Isaac Siegel, after a trip to Ellis Island yesterday, declared he had discovered how anarchists are made. Mr. Siegel is a member of the House Congressional Committee appointed to investigate conditions at the Island.

"Books in our public libraries help to make anarchists," he said. "I found a boy on the Island—Thomas Buhokanob, seventeen years old, a native of Russia, who came here seven years ago. He was educated in Public School 38. He read anarchist books out of the Harlem Public Library. Then he helped circulate Emma Goldman's 'Mother Earth.' After that he went to Greenpoint, where he organized Russians who could not speak English and taught them what he had learned about anarchy.

"He told me he did not believe in the Constitution, in any form of government or in God."

Mr. Siegel said the committee would meet in Washington on Monday, when it will question Secretary of Labor Wilson, Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, and other officials.

Mislig Defies Committee

The Lusk Legislative Committee devoted its session yesterday to obtaining the political views of Dr. Michael Mislig, formerly treasurer of the Russian Socialist Federation. He declined to tell thecommittee the names of the federation's executive committee, although Assemblyman Louis Martin warned him he would be in contempt.

Ernest Albert Kurth, who was indicted on a charge of assault with intent to kill for having sent a bomb concealed in a tin candy box to Mrs. Rodman Wanamaker, pleaded guilty yesterday before Judge William H. Wadhams in General Sessions. He will be sentenced December 11.

New York Tribune, Dec. 5, 1919

Emma Goldman, 1919 Library of Congress

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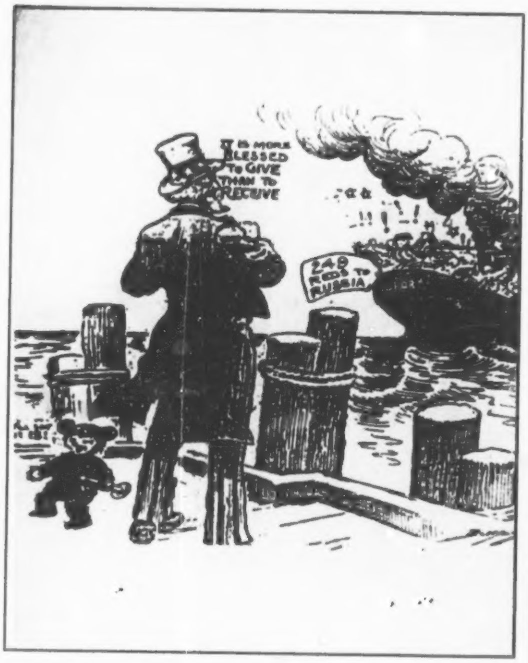
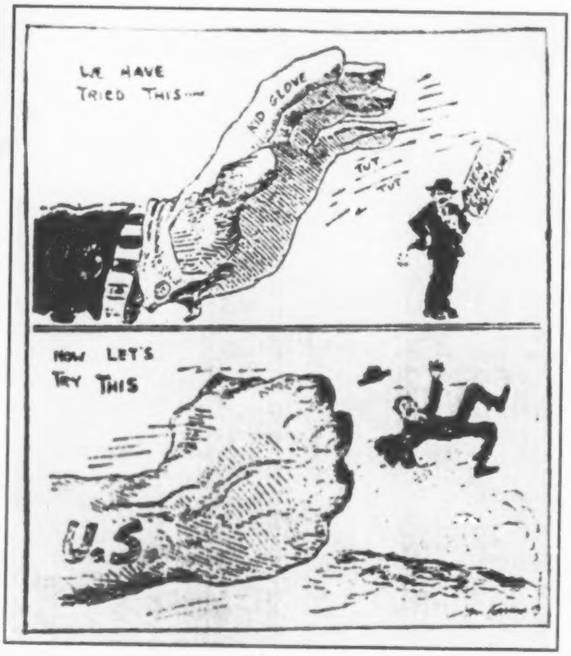
Deportation as Reflected in Political Cartoons

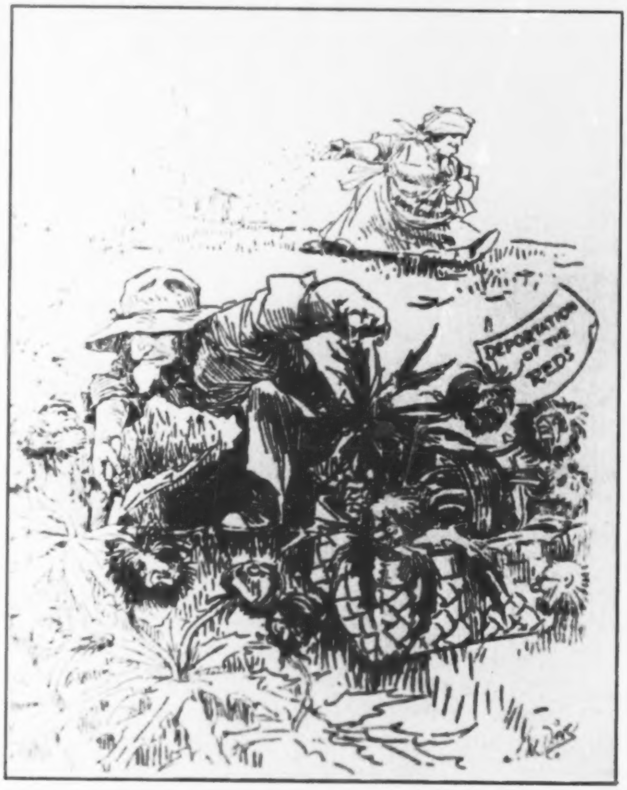
World War I and the Russian Revolution created a climate of fear in the United States directed against those identified as foreign-born radicals. One government tactic to rid the country of these people included deportation. On December 21, 1919, 249 radicals were deported from the United States to the Soviet Union aboard the S.S. *Buford*—often referred to as the "Red Ark." Emma Goldman and her comrade Alexander Berkman were the most notorious among the deportees. J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Justice Department's General Intelligence Division, was at the dock to witness the deportation. Hoover, who had turned the deportation of Goldman and Berkman into a personal crusade, labeled them "two of the most dangerous anarchists in this country."


IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE
249 REDS TO RUSSIA

"Uncle Sam Bids Good Riddance to the Deportees"
J. Edgar Hoover memorabilia, National Archives

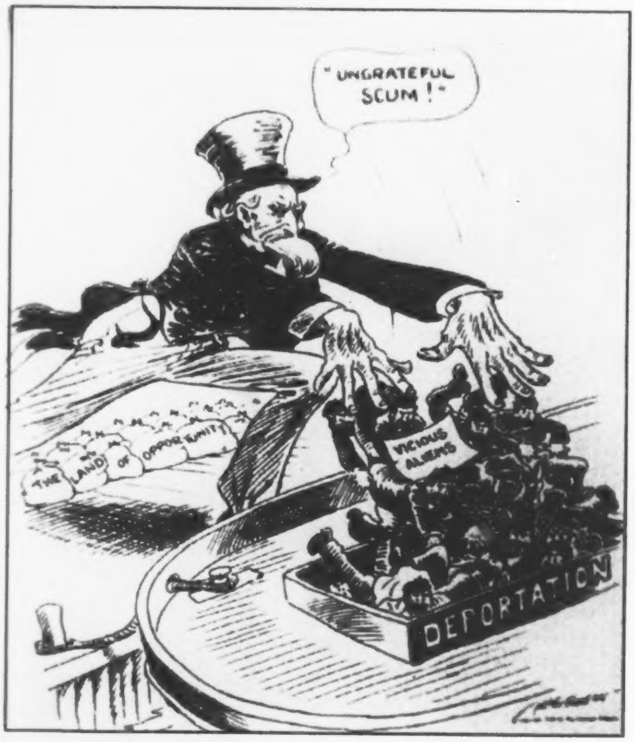


"About Time"
Coffman, *Illustrated Feature Service*



"Deportations,"
Chicago Tribune

"Deporting the Reds,"
New York Tribune



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Deportation

In her autobiography, *Living My Life*, Emma Goldman describes her feelings as a seventeen-year-old arriving in a new country in 1885, and her feelings as a fifty-year-old woman upon her deportation from the United States in 1919.

My first contact with the sea was terrifying and fascinating. The freedom from home, the beauty and wonder of the endless expanse in its varying moods, and the exciting anticipation of what the new land would offer stimulated my imagination and sent my blood tingling.... Helena and I stood pressed to each other, enraptured by the sight of the harbour and the Statue of Liberty suddenly emerging from the mist. Ah, there she was, the symbol of hope, of freedom, of opportunity! She held her torch high to light the way to the free country, the asylum for the oppressed of all lands. We, too, Helena and I, would find a place in the generous heart of America. Our spirits were high, our eyes filled with tears....

...It was almost midnight when suddenly I caught the sound of approaching footsteps. "Look out, someone's coming!" Ethel whispered. I snatched up my papers and letters and hid them under my pillow. Then we threw ourselves on our beds, covered up, and pretended to be asleep.*

The steps halted at our room. There came the rattling of keys; the door was unlocked and noisily thrown open. Two guards and a matron entered. "Get up now," they commanded, "get your things ready!"...

Deep snow lay on the ground; the air was cut by a biting wind. A row of armed civilians and soldiers stood along the road to the bank. Dimly the outlines of a

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* Emma Goldman was being held in a room with Ethel Bernstein and Dora Lipkin who had been rounded up at a raid on the Union of Russian Workers offices in New York.

barge were visible through the morning mist. One by one the deportees marched, flanked on each side by the uniformed men, curses and threats accompanying the thud of their feet on the frozen ground. When the last man had crossed the gangplank, the girls and I were ordered to follow, officers in front and in back of us....

I looked at my watch. It was 4:20 A.M. on the day of our Lord, December 21, 1919. On the deck above us I could hear the men tramping up and down in the wintry blast. I felt dizzy, visioning a transport of politicals doomed to Siberia, the étape of former Russian days. Russia of the past rose before me and I saw the revolutionary martyrs being driven into exile. But no, it was New York, it was America, the land of liberty! Through the port-hole I could see the great city receding into the distance, its sky-line of buildings traceable by their rearing heads. It was my beloved city, the metropolis of the New World. It was America, indeed, America repeating the terrible scenes of tsarist Russia! I glanced up—the Statue of Liberty!

Excerpted from Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (p. 11, pp. 716-17).

STUDENT RESOURCE: DOCUMENT 23

Emma Goldman Meets V. I. Lenin

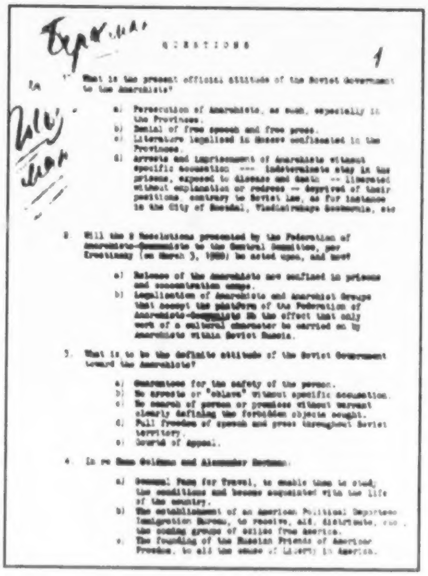
After Emma Goldman's deportation in 1919 from the United States, she arrived in Soviet Russia hoping she "would find a new-born country, with its people wholly consecrated to the great task of revolutionary reconstruction." Goldman soon realized that her view of the Revolution was not shared by the Bolshevik leadership. In this "new" Russia, anarchists and other activists were denied free speech, and their organizing efforts landed them in jail. In a meeting with Lenin arranged by her friend Angelica Balabanova, a trusted advisor of Lenin, Goldman protested their treatment. Disillusioned and convinced that Lenin had betrayed the ideals of the Revolution, after fifteen months Goldman left Russia. The following excerpt is from Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia.*

MEETING PEOPLE

At a conference of the Moscow Anarchists in March I first learned of the part some Anarchists had played in the Russian Revolution. In the July uprising of 1917 the Kronstadt sailors were led by the Anarchist Yarchuck; . . . the Anarchists had participated on every front and helped to drive back the Allied attacks. It was the consensus of opinion that the Anarchists were always among the first to face fire, as they were also the most active in the reconstructive work. One of the biggest factories near Moscow, which did not stop work during the entire period of the Revolution, was managed by an Anarchist. Anarchists were doing important work in the Foreign Office and in all other departments. I learned that the Anarchists had virtually helped the Bolsheviki into power. Five months later, in April, 1918, machine guns were used to destroy the Moscow Anarchist Club and to suppress their Press. . . The field had to be "cleared of disturbing elements," and the Anarchists were the first to suffer. Since then the persecution of the Anarchists has never ceased.

The Moscow Anarchist Conference was critical not only toward the existing régime, but toward its own comrades as well. It spoke frankly of the negative sides of the movement, and of its lack of unity and coöperation during the revolutionary period. Later I was to learn more of the internal dissensions in the Anarchist movement. Before closing, the Conference decided to call on the Soviet Government to release the imprisoned Anarchists and to legalize Anarchist educational work. The Conference asked Alexander Berkman and myself to sign the resolution to that effect. It was a shock to me that Anarchists should ask any government to legalize their efforts, but I still believed the Soviet Government to be at least to some extent expressive of the Revolution. I signed the resolution, and as I was to see Lenin in a few days I promised to take the matter up with him.

The interview with Lenin was arranged by Balabanova. "You must see Ilitch, talk to him about the things that are disturbing you and the work you would like to do," she had said. But some time passed before the opportunity came. At last one day Balabanova called up to ask whether I could go at once. Lenin had sent his car and we were quickly driven over to the Kremlin, passed without question by the guards, and at last ushered into the workroom of the all-powerful president of the People's Commissars.



QUESTIONS

1

1. What is the present official attitude of the Soviet Government to the Anarchists?
   - a) Persecution of Anarchists, as such, especially in the Provinces.
   - b) Denial of free speech and free press.
   - c) Literature legalized in Moscow confiscated in the Provinces.
   - d) Arrests and imprisonment of Anarchists without specific accusation --- indeterminate stay in the prisons, exposed to disease and death -- liberated without explanation or redress -- deprived of their positions, contrary to Soviet law, as for instance in the City of [illegible], [illegible], etc
2. Will the 2 Resolutions presented by the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the Central Committee, per Krestinsky (on March 3, 1920) be acted upon, and how?
   - a) Release of the Anarchists now confined in prisons and concentration camps.
   - b) Legalization of Anarchists and Anarchist Groups that accept the platform of the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the effect that only work of a cultural character be carried on by Anarchists within Soviet Russia.
3. What is to be the definite attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Anarchists?
   - a) Guarantees for the safety of the person.
   - b) No arrests or "oblava" without specific accusation.
   - c) No search of person or premises without warrant clearly defining the forbidden objects sought.
   - d) Full freedom of speech and press throughout Soviet territory.
   - e) Courts of appeal.
4. In re Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.
   - a) General Pass for Travel, to enable them to study the conditions and become acquainted with the life of the country.
   - b) The establishment of an American Political Deportees Immigration Bureau, to receive, aid, distribute, etc., the coming groups of exiles from America.
   - c) The founding of the Russian Friends of American Freedom, to aid the cause of Liberty in America.

When we entered Lenin held a copy of the brochure *Trial and Speeches** in his hands. I had given my only copy to Balabanova, who had evidently sent the booklet on ahead of us to Lenin. One of his first questions was, "When could the Social Revolution be expected in America?" I had been asked the question repeatedly before, but I was astounded to hear it from Lenin. It seemed incredible that a man of his information should know so little about conditions in America. . . .

I broached the subject of the Anarchists in Russia. I showed him a letter I had received from Martens, the Soviet representative in America, shortly before my deportation. Martens asserted that the Anarchists in Russia enjoyed full freedom of speech and Press. Since my arrival I found scores of Anarchists in prison and their Press suppressed. I explained that I could not think of working with the Soviet Government so long as my comrades were in prison for opinion's sake. I also told him of the resolutions of the Moscow Anarchist Conference. He listened patiently and promised to bring the matter to the attention of his party. "But as to free speech," he remarked, "that is, of course, a bourgeois notion. There can be no free speech in a revolutionary period. We have the peasantry against us because we can give them nothing in return for their bread. We will have them on our side when we have something to exchange. Then you can have all the free speech you want—but not now. Recently we needed peasants to cart some wood into the city. They demanded salt. We thought we had no salt, but then we discovered seventy poods in Moscow in one of our warehouses. At once the peasants were willing to cart the wood. Your comrades must wait until wecan meet the needs of the peasants. Meanwhile, they should work with us. . .

Free speech, free Press, the spiritual achievements of centuries, what were they to this man? A Puritan, he was sure his scheme alone could redeem Russia. Those who served his plans were right, the others could not be tolerated.

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* *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court, in the City of New York,* July, 1917, Mother Earth Publishing Co., New York.

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EPILOGUE

Emma Goldman championed the issue of free speech in her conflicts with the United States government. While in Bolshevik Russia, following her deportation in 1919, she continued to argue for freedom of expression. Goldman wrote that from the day of her arrival in the Soviet Union she felt, "at first vaguely, then even more consciously and clearly" that the aims of the Revolution were being betrayed.

In the Afterword of her book *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (1924) Goldman wrote:

> *It is at once the great failure and the great tragedy of the Russian Revolution that it attempted (in the leadership of the ruling political party) to change only institutions and conditions while ignoring entirely the human and social values involved in the Revolution. Worse yet, in its mad passion for power, the Communist State even sought to strengthen and deepen the very ideas and conceptions which the Revolution had come to destroy. It supported and encouraged all the worst anti-social qualities and systematically destroyed the already awakened conception of the new revolutionary values. The sense of justice and equality, the love of liberty and of human brotherhood—these fundamentals of the real regeneration of society—the Communist State suppressed to the point of extermination. Man's instinctive sense of equity was branded as weak sentimentality; human dignity and liberty became a bourgeois superstition; the sanctity of life, which is the very essence of social reconstruction, was condemned as un-revolutionary, almost counter-revolutionary. This fearful perversion of fundamental values bore within itself the seed of destruction. With the conception that the Revolution was only a means of securing political power, it was inevitable that all revolutionary values should be subordinated to the needs of the Socialist State; indeed, exploited to further the security of the newly acquired governmental power.... The ultimate end of all revolutionary social change is to establish the sanctity of human life, the dignity of man, the right of every human being to liberty and well-being.*

Read the above quotation to the class. Have students analyze this statement using Goldman's definition of anarchism discussed in Lesson One.

GLOSSARY

Anarchism: Anarchism is the political philosophy of those who believe that a society based on shared ownership and voluntary agreements among individuals and groups is possible and that without each person's consent and involvement in the social order all established forms of government essentially rest upon the threat of force. As a result, some anarchists believed in the use of violence to bring about change. Emma Goldman, however, believed that social change would occur only when people's beliefs and attitudes changed, and hence her lectures were intended to educate and to inspire her audiences with a vision of social harmony. She identified with the anti-authoritarian tradition of writers Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Leo Tolstoy as well as prominent anarchist political theorists like Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin.

Bolsheviks: Led by V. I. Lenin, the Bolsheviks were a centralized, disciplined party of professional revolutionaries. They dedicated themselves to overthrowing the Czar—the emperor of Russia—and to the establishment of a classless society. After their successful revolution in November 1917, however, the Bolsheviks were often ruthless toward those they considered enemies of the revolution, including many groups who had fought for decades against Czarist rule and in support of a revolution. Emma Goldman, an early supporter of the revolution, was especially troubled by the Bolsheviks' suppression of free speech and the political activities of the Russian anarchists.

Conscription: Conscription is a government-initiated system for requiring men to serve in the military. Since ancient times governments have conscripted men when they needed an army. During World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, the U.S. government used a form of conscription called the draft, which excused some individuals from military service if, for example, they were employed in war-related industries or engaged in higher education or were "conscientious objectors"—opposed to war on a moral level and willing to participate in alternative service. The draft has often been a source of controversy in the United States. When the federal government began registering men for the draft during the Civil War, four days of rioting in New York City claimed the lives of over one hundred people. Those opposed to the Vietnam War often expressed their opposition by refusing to register for the draft or by burning their draft cards. Goldman and thousands of other liberals and radicals opposed conscription during World War I. Goldman was charged with conspiracy to obstruct the draft because she believed that it violated an individual's right to choose whether or not to fight. She was found guilty and sentenced to two years in jail. Since 1973 the American military has been a volunteer force, though all males are required to register for a standby draft when they reach the age of eighteen.

Comstock Law: In 1873 Anthony Comstock, organizer of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, successfully lobbied Congress for passage of a law to bar "obscene, lewd or lascivious" material from the mails, specifically contraceptives and birth control information. In 1900, after attending a conference in Paris on how to prevent pregnancy, Goldman smuggled contraceptive devices and birth control literature into the United States. Margaret Sanger, the most prominent advocate of birth control, was prosecuted under the Comstock law in 1914 when her journal, Woman *Rebel,* addressed the issue of birth control. The Comstock law continued to be used in federal courts as late as the 1950s to prosecute obscenity cases.

Czarist Russia: Before the 1917 revolution, Russia was a monarchy under the rule of the czar, or tsar—the title used by the emperors of Russia. The first ruler to adopt the title was Ivan the Terrible in 1547. The last czar was Nicholas II (1868-1918). Goldman grew up under czarist rule and rebelled against its oppressive nature.

Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917-1918: The United States entry into World War I was not welcomed by everybody in this country. Pacifists, isolationists, socialists and other radicals were politically opposed to U.S. entry into the war, and considerable numbers of German Americans and Irish Americans also opposed U.S. involvement, though for different reasons. German Americans did not want the United States at war with their homeland and Irish Americans opposed the U.S. allying with Great Britain, which held their homeland in colonial bondage. The Espionage Act of June 1917 imposed fines of up to $10,000 and prison terms of up to twenty years on anyone found guilty of interfering with the nation's war effort, obstructing recruitment, or promoting disloyalty. Under another provision of the Act the postmaster general was allowed to prohibit the use of the mails for any material "advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." The Act was directed at opponents of the war rather than those who actually intended to engage in "espionage." The government argued that the prohibited activity presented a "clear and present danger" to a nation at war. The Justice Department convicted over a thousand individuals under its provisions, including the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist party leader, Eugene V. Debs. Another law, the Sedition Act of May 1918 gave the government more power over expressions of dissent. It prohibited "uttering, printing, writing, or publishing any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language ... [about] ... the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution, or the flag" or urging slowdown of production of anything necessary to the war effort.

Haymarket Incident: On May 3, 1886, during a strike at the McCormick Reaper Works, the police shot at random at the strikers who were demanding an eight-hour work day. A Chicago anarchist group called a mass meeting for the following evening to protest the police shooting. As the peaceful meeting in Haymarket Square was drawing to a close, police began to break up the gathering. At that point a bomb was thrown at the police, who, in turn, opened fire. Seven police officers and several civilians were killed. The police and the newspapers blamed Chicago's anarchist leaders for the incident, and eight of them were arrested. In a climate of unusual fear of radicals a jury found them guilty of murder. Of the eight convicted, four were executed, one committed suicide, and three were sentenced to long prison terms but were later pardoned. Emma Goldman, who was seventeen years old at the time, closely followed the fate of the Haymarket anarchists. She was deeply moved by their commitment to their cause and the injustice done to them. When they were executed she determined to devote her life to their ideal and memory, recalling later that "their death was my spiritual birth."

Homestead Strike: In 1892, the union contract between skilled workers at the Homestead (Pennsylvania) Works and the Carnegie Steel Company was due to expire. Henry Clay Frick, the superintendent at Homestead and an outspoken anti-union man, proposed a new pay scale that cut workers' wages by 20 percent. On June 29, the workers called for a strike to protest Frick's proposal. Before they began the strike, however, Frick locked them out, imported a force of three hundred Pinkerton detectives, and began recruiting replacement workers. A violent battle between the locked-out workers and Pinkerton agents left three detectives and nine strikers dead. The Governor of Pennsylvania ordered in the National Guard. Into this conflict came Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman's comrade, who saw himself as the self-appointed avenger of the dead workers and the wrongs suffered by all the workers. On July 23 he entered Frick's office and shot and stabbed him several times. Frick survived the attack; Berkman, seized on the spot, was tried and found guilty by a jury and spent fourteen years in jail. Ironically, the Homestead workers actually condemned Berkman's act as ineffective. Goldman, who had helped plan the attempt on Frick's life, stood by her friend during his long imprisonment. Later, Goldman rejected violence as a tactic but refused to condemn those like Berkman who risked their lives for their ideal. Ultimately, Goldman believed that the violence done to individuals by the economic and political system was more destructive than such individual acts of violence.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): Emma Goldman had close ties to the leaders of the IWW. Founded in 1905, the IWW (or Wobblies, as they were known) tried to organize all workers, regardless of their craft or level of skill, into one large union. This approach put the IWW in direct conflict with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). AFL unions restricted membership to skilled workers such as carpenters, typographers, glassblowers, and boilermakers. The IWW's goals and tactics were also different: the IWW wanted its members to seize control of the factories and mines and often employed the tactics of direct action, while the AFL fought mainly for better wages and working conditions for its members within the system of industrial capitalism. The IWW kept its dues low as part of a strategy to recruit the broadest range of unskilled immigrants, women, nonwhites, and migrant workers. Its newspapers were lively—and included publications in numerous foreign languages—and its songs and pictures have become legendary. Where local authorities prevented Wobblies from recruiting members the IWW often had to wage "free speech fights," calling members across the nation to descend on a city where they had been denied the right to speak on the streets and distribute literature. No matter how many Wobblies were arrested, there were more to take their places, and eventually the local authorities had to give up. But the IWW's most dramatic confrontations came in the strikes it organized, such as the textile workers strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts (1912) and the Paterson silk strike (1913). Later, many Wobblies were vocal opponents of World War I and conscription. They fell victim to wartime anti-radical hysteria. In September 1917 Justice Department agents raided IWW offices across the country, arresting virtually all of its leadership. Over one hundred of them were found guilty of violating the Espionage Act, and many were sentenced to long jail terms. The IWW never recovered from this blow.

McKinley Assassination: William McKinley (Republican), elected president of the United States in 1896 and 1900, was shot by an assassin while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, on September 6, 1901. Eight days later McKinley died from his wounds. His assassin, Leon Czolgosz, a twenty-eight-year-old unemployed laborer and anarchist, was apprehended at the scene. The nation's newspapers were filled with detailed reports of the crime, and many implicated Emma Goldman in the act. Some reported that Czolgosz had heard Goldman speak; others claimed a copy of a Goldman lecture was found in his pocket when the police searched him. The authorities interrogated Goldman, but no evidence was uncovered to prove that she had any connection to the crime, though she was forever associated in the public mind with McKinley's assassination.

Palmer Raids: In the United States, World War I created a climate of intolerance and suspicion of radicals and war resisters that continued even after the war ended. The success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia only served to increase the fear of radicalism and suspicion of foreigners. The Palmer raids—part of the postwar "Red Scare"—specifically targeted foreign-born radicals. Beginning in January 1920, under the direction of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, agents of the Justice Department raided offices and homes, arresting thousands of people—often without warrants—destroying property, and conducting unlawful searches. These violations of constitutional guarantees alarmed many Americans, who worried that the wholesale trampling of civil liberties set a disturbing example. It is no coincidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was founded in the same year as the Palmer raids occurred.

Preparedness: From the beginning of World War I some prominent Americans, including former President Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, were eager to join the war against Germany. They pressured President Woodrow Wilson to enlarge and improve America's armed forces. But Wilson initially sought to avoid U.S. involvement in the war, attempting instead to find peace terms acceptable to both sides. After his attempts to promote peace were rejected the president began a campaign of preparedness that involved enlargement of the army, navy, and marines. Wilson campaigned for reelection in 1916 on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," but many Americans believed that his preparedness program would inevitably lead to U.S. entry into the war. Emma Goldman and others denounced this military build-up. After the United States entered the war in April 1917, they encouraged Americans to oppose the war by refusing forced conscription into the military.

Radicals: "Radical" is from the Latin word "radix," which means root. Radicals are activists who look for the roots of the social, economic, and political wrongs in society and demand immediate and sweeping changes to remedy them.

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